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THE INSIDE STORY



Paul Comstock

The union reports that business has been much worse than Greyhound claims.

Labor updates on Greyhound, a libel suit, Steel Workers

By David Moberg

The 'Hound's snarl is all too familiar. In a newly deregulated bus industry, mighty Greyhound Bus Lines—with a 62 percent share of the scheduled bus traffic—has demanded wage-and-benefit concessions from its unionized employees, although the company remains profitable, because it fears growing competition. Workers for "The Dog," who are more unionized and better paid than the rest of the industry, are faced with management that is counting on breaking their strike to force pay down drastically, even though the union has made offers—first, to freeze pay for a year and, later, to take a smaller cut in wages and benefits.

More and more companies are calculating that they can break strikes—from Phelps Dodge copper workers to Continental Airlines mechanics and pilots. Employers are turning forces of competition against workers, using threats of job loss to compel auto and steel locals to bid against each other for jobs or, especially in newly deregulated industries, using the specter of new low-wage, non-union firms to wrest concessions from workers.

But by union accounts, Greyhound workers are holding fast. The company's revised contract demand was rejected by 96 percent of employees. It had scaled back the original wage cut proposal from 9.5 percent to 7.8 percent. But the total package, including reductions in pensions, holidays and other benefits, would have been slashed by 18.8 percent, according to the union, compared to the first demand of 27.5 percent (which the company insisted had totalled 16.5 percent).

Although the company pledged to double service by mid-December and took a hard line on resuming negotiations in response to the vote, the union argues that strikebreaking efforts have been ineffective. Greyhound claims 1,500 union members have crossed picket lines to join 1,300 newly hired workers, but the union says the

figure is more like 340 out of a workforce of 12,500. The union also reports that business has been much worse than the company claims, with far lower ridership on lines that cover only 18 percent of Greyhound's system. Greyhound is losing \$1 million a day, according to the union.

Greyhound chief John W. Teets says that the company is being tough because it is fighting for survival, citing an operating loss of \$16.3 million last year for the conglomerate's transportation group. But the union insists that the bus lines, which make up part of the transportation group, made \$20 million last year. After a first quarter loss this year, the bus lines have made money in both the second and third quarter, union analysts say.

Despite this record, the union first offered to submit this year's contract to binding arbitration, then proposed a one-year freeze. On November 14, according to Amalgamated Transportation Union Local 1303 Vice-President William Pearsall, the union offered a 3.5 percent hourly wage cut, a 5 percent cut in drivers' rates and reductions in other areas such as holidays and pension payments that would have saved the company \$60 million annually. "We wanted our people back to work," Pearsall said. "The company told us they wanted all or nothing."

Traditional picket lines have been supplemented with mass picketing in cities such as Boston and Philadelphia. Other unions have thrown their support behind the ATU with a call for a Greyhound boycott and, in some cases, support on the picket lines. Also, occasional incidents of physical attacks on or shots fired at strikebreaking buses have been reported, despite the army of security guards hired by the company.

Three American Motors Corporation (AMC) workers, charged with libeling several foremen in their independent newspaper, won a mixed victory in a Racine, Wis., court just before Thanksgiving (see *In These Times*, Nov. 2). Two of the plaintiffs in the \$4.2 million suit, which was instigated and surreptitiously financed by AMC, dropped out during the trial (joining one who had left before trial) as the defense mounted massive evidence of the truth of the criticisms in *Fighting Times* and introduced even more damaging evidence about the plaintiffs' character and behavior.

The judge entered directed verdicts of guilty for two of the remaining plaintiffs, but the jury acquitted the defendants in the third case and refused to award damages in all three. With slightly different rulings by the judge, the defendants would have been found innocent. Following a Supreme Court decision (*Linn v. Plant Guards*), discussion in labor disputes is governed by the most restrictive libel standards, which also cover newspapers. Plaintiffs must show "actual malice." At first the judge said the *Linn* standard did not apply. Later he said it would if the case involved a "labor dispute." Under federal law, this case would have been a labor dispute, but under Wisconsin law, which the judge followed, it was not.

The judge also refused to allow the defendants to introduce evidence that the company had financed the suit, but did permit the plaintiffs' lawyer to pursue a line of "redbaiting" questions. However, Robert Fesco, the plant director of employee relations, testified that he had met with the key plaintiff, Steve Freeman, to discuss a libel suit well before the suit was filed and had acted at the request of a corporate attorney. He also testified that AMC had investigated the *Fighting Times'*

charges of racism and sexism against Freeman, who was one of the plaintiffs who dropped out, and concluded that they were true.

Now the three union stewards face staggering legal bills—estimated anywhere from more than \$50,000 to as much as \$150,000. It is still possible that the National Labor Relations Board will reactivate its unfair labor practice complaint against the corporation, which had demanded payment of the defendants' legal fees. And their attorneys are considering suing for malicious prosecution, especially in light of Fesco's testimony.

"We felt it was a vindication of us and an indictment of American Motors," defendant Jon Melrod said of the verdict delivered by the blue-collar jury. One of their attorneys, Warren Kaplan, saw it as "a case of considerable historical significance. People in top boardrooms may think twice about following AMC's example in trying to silence a newspaper like this by filing massive libel suits, and a lot of people who grind out these papers will be heartened by this result."

(Contributions can be sent to the Union Free Speech Defense Fund, c/o Alvin Ugent, 207 E. Michigan, Milwaukee, Wis.)

With the November 6 death of United Steel Workers President Lloyd McBride, the troubled union is heading into what may be a wide-open contest for leadership. Secretary Lynn Williams was selected as interim president until the March 29 election by a 16 to 12 vote of the executive board. But the supporters of Vice-President Joseph Odorcich, who negotiated the last two basic steel contracts because of McBride's illness, refused to make the vote unanimous.

Odorcich, age 67, then pledged to run for the office, saying that as a one-term president he would be free from internal politicking and could act on the union's desperate problems. Initially, he attacked Williams for being too concerned with international affairs. As a Canadian, Williams could not fight in court or campaign for Mondale as he could, Odorcich said. He continued to defend the concessions pact, while admitting that more plant closings will occur anyway, and called for strict limits on steel imports.

Odorcich was joined in the battle by Ronald Weisen, age 48, who was the choice of a group of 150 Steelworkers who gathered in Hammond, Ind., the weekend before Thanksgiving. "Another two years of leadership by the present gutless administration will result in the death of our once-great union," he said. "We can no longer stand idly by while plants are closed and jobs are lost by the thousands. We'll have to go back to the streets like the '30s and take the gloves off with these corporations."

An ex-boxer, Weisen is in his second term as president of the Homestead, Pa., U.S. Steel local. He has frequently taken off his verbal gloves in battles with both the corporations and the international union, filing law suits against both and "blasting" them in his local newspaper. He was an early organizer of unemployed steelworkers and has been active in the Pittsburgh-area fight against the Mellon Bank, which is blamed for disinvesting in the U.S. steel industry.

A populist who blames "banks, crooked politicians, the international union leadership and some of the top hierarchy of the church" for steelworkers' plight, Weisen wants a "nationwide revolt or all of our jobs will go overseas for slave labor."

But several key potential supporters questioned

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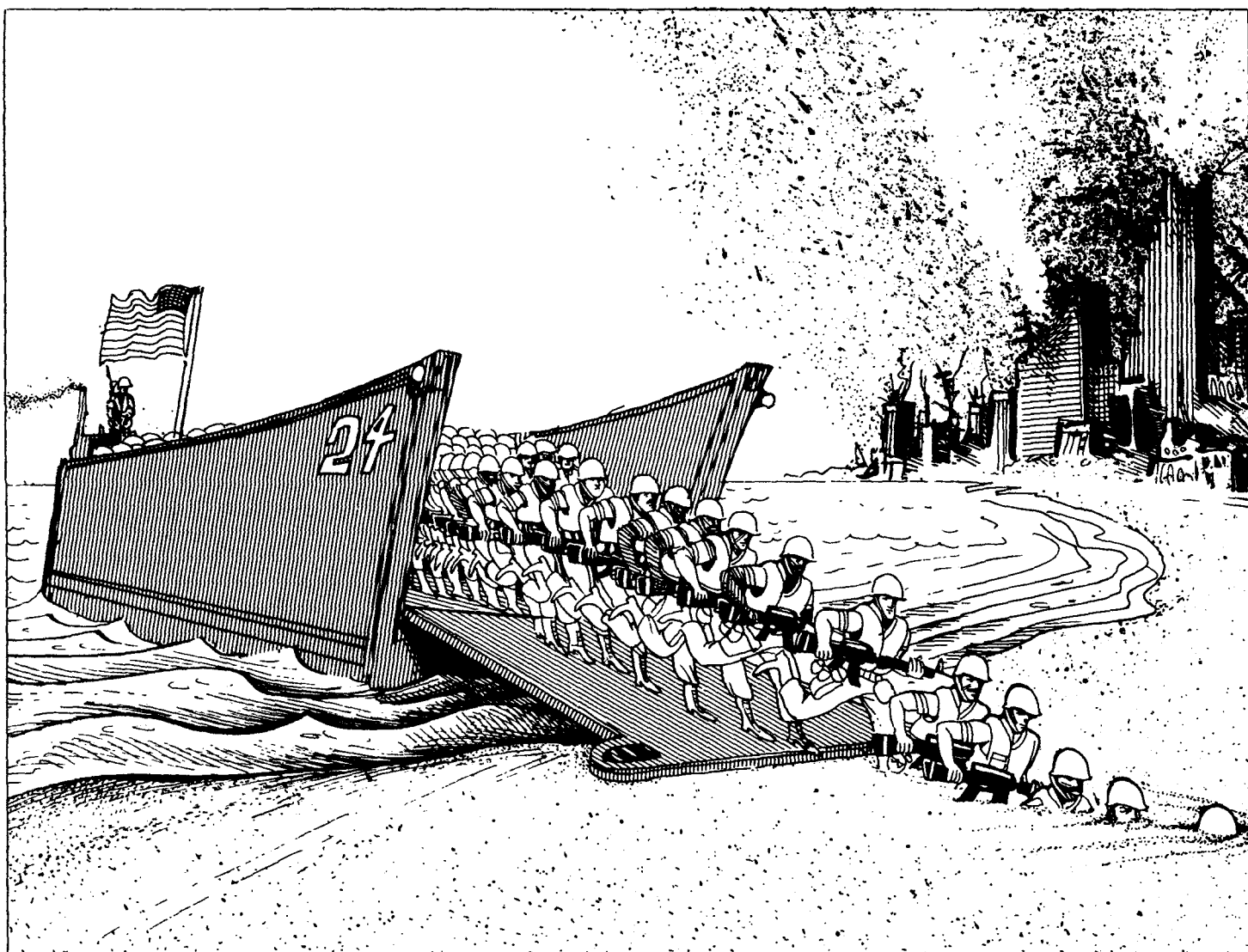
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IN THESE TIMES



Reagan cements a deal with Israelis

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

THE OCTOBER 23 BOMBING OF the American Marine barracks in Beirut demonstrated the Reagan administration's lack of a plan for achieving its objectives in Lebanon: a fully sovereign Amin Gemayel government and a secure Israel. In the weeks following the bombing, the administration has settled on a plan of sorts.

But as last week's visit of Israel Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe Arens made clear, the administration may now have a plan, but it still does not have the means to carry it out.

The Reagan administration's new strategy, advanced by Secretary of State George Shultz and National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane over the objections of Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, calls for the U.S. to renew its "strategic cooperation" with Israel, suspended in 1981 after Israel annexed the Golan Heights. The new strategy, adopted at an October 29 National Security Council meeting, calls for the U.S. and Israel to secure the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon.

The alternative strategy, favored by former Undersecretary of State George Ball, Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), the Moslem opposition in Lebanon and reportedly by some Pentagon officials, would be to bring Syria into a settlement on Lebanon by pressuring Israel to revise the May 17 accord with the Amin Gemayel government, which virtually ceded sovereignty over southern Lebanon to Israel.

The administration adopted the Israeli option, even after the failure of the September 1981 "strategic memorandum" with Israel, because it views Syria as an agent of the Soviet Union in the Mideast and regards any concessions to it as a concession to the Soviets. There have also been reports that the administration's

political advisors do not want to risk a rift with Israel during an election year, when the administration covets Jewish voters in New York, Pennsylvania and other northern states.

But the administration's plan leaves open to question exactly how the U.S. and Israel will force a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. As Shamir and Arens made clear during their visit, the Israelis are unwilling to serve as "proxies" for the U.S. in Lebanon by mounting military actions to drive out the Syrians.

But, the U.S. is also unwilling to become more militarily involved in Lebanon, fearing that it could be drawn into

a protracted and politically unpopular conflict.

In the absence of an agreement to take direct military action, the two governments have fallen back on a "show of strength" strategy. The U.S. will continue making reconnaissance flights over Syrian forces, while the Israelis would stage reprisals, if provoked. It is hoped that over the long run the Syrians and their Moslem allies would be worn down by Israeli-U.S. determination not to budge from the May 17 agreement.

But as most observers in Washington acknowledge, the Syrians have thus far shown little sign of being worn down by threats and shows of force. Most likely, it will be the U.S., whose Marines remain exposed to sniper and terrorist attack, that will be worn down by such a strategy. And then the U.S. will face the same choice it always has: if it wants to have a hand in a Lebanese settlement, it must either wage war against the Syrians or bring them into negotiations.

Meanwhile, the new Israeli-U.S. accord is shaping up as another election-

created an average of 8 percent annually. These figures are adjusted for inflation.

But if the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) latest reports on *Soviet Economic Trends and Policy Development* is to be believed, the Reagan administration's other claim is also false. According to the new CIA report, submitted to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, Soviet percentage increases in military spending from 1976 through the present have been lower than the increases in American military spending.

The CIA report says that "new evidence" has led it to revise its previous estimate. Not only has overall military spending increased less rapidly, but Soviet expenditures on weapons—the crucial area for arms comparisons—"have leveled off since 1976."

The CIA report says: "Total Soviet defense costs, measured in constant 1970 rubles, grew at an average annual rate of 4-5 percent during 1966-76.... Our new estimate, however, shows that like overall economic growth the rise in the total cost of defense since 1976 has been slower—about 2 percent a year. The rate of growth of overall defense costs is lower because procurement of military hardware—the largest category of defense spending—was almost flat in 1976-81. New information indicates that the Soviets did not field weapons as rapidly after 1976 as before. Practically all major categories of Soviet weapons were affected—

The administration adopted the Israeli option because it views Syria as a Mideastern agent of the Soviet Union and regards any concessions to Syria as concessions to the Soviets.

year aid package for Israel. Reagan administration officials agree to most Israeli requests, including resumption of cluster bomb shipments (which the Israelis have repeatedly used against civilian targets), conversion of some arms sales into grants, providing credits for the Israelis to purchase American research help to build its own fighters (a move opposed by the Pentagon) and pre-positioning American military supplies in Israel.

At a November 30 press conference after his visit with the Reagan administration, Shamir was asked what the Israelis had given in return to the U.S. Shamir replied, "I think the relation between the U.S. and Israel is not based on a *quid pro quo*. If we are supported by the U.S., it is because by our existence and our activities in the Mideast, we are supporting the interests of the U.S. in the Mideast."

Shamir reiterated his refusal—in the light of the Gemayel government's plea to the U.S.—to change the May 17 agreement. "If he really wants the U.S. and Israel to make any changes in the agreement, I assure you he will not succeed," Shamir said.

He also reiterated his opposition to the Reagan administration's proposal for a Palestinian homeland on the West Bank attached to Jordan, and for a moratorium on Israeli settlements on the West Bank. Shamir, who regards the West Bank as part of Israel, said, "Israel has never committed itself to not building villages and settlements in any part of this country."

missiles, aircraft and ships."

The report also says that in 1982, "the trends in both total defense expenditures and procurement costs that we have observed since 1976 are continuing." The report suggests that Soviet General Secretary Yuri Andropov has made a healthy economy "a precondition of military power—suggesting that defense could no longer count on retaining unquestionable priority in the distribution of resources."

Reagan's rhetoric is further discredited by the report's claim that "the little evidence that is available indicates Andropov has not accelerated Soviet military spending. For example, the leveling off of weapons procurement in recent years has been accompanied by an increase in the share of machinery allotted to civilian uses. That trend...appears to have continued in both 1982 and 1983." In contrast to this trend in the Soviet Union, spending on military procurement in the U.S. during the Reagan administration has increased 16.75 percent annually, with overall military outlays climbing 7.8 percent.

The CIA report suggests that the vaunted Soviet buildup that the Reagan administration made into an issue during the 1980 campaign is similar to the alleged missile gap between the U.S. and Soviet Union that John Kennedy introduced during his 1960 campaign. It was a fiction designed to discredit Reagan's Democratic opposition and to justify still greater increases in military spending.

CIA: no big Soviet arms boost in '70s

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION has repeatedly justified huge increases in military spending on the grounds that such increases were necessary to offset Soviet increases since 1977. Reagan officials argue that, while the Soviet Union was rapidly increasing its arms budget, the American arms budget during the Carter years remained the same. Reagan stated the case, for example, in a televised speech last year on the arms race.

"You have often heard that the Soviet Union and the U.S. are in an arms race," Reagan said. "The truth is that, while the Soviet Union has raced, we have not."

Reagan's claim that the U.S. did not increase its military spending during the Carter years was false. Military spending increased an average of 2.95 percent annually from 1977 through 1981. Spending on military procurement—weapons—in-

IN SHORT

Butter's better

Last month voters in Philadelphia, Pa., and Pittsfield, Mass., joined the ranks of 70 other cities and towns across the U.S. in approving non-binding Jobs with Peace referenda calling on Congress to redirect tax dollars from weapons programs to social, educational and jobs programs. In Philadelphia, the ballot question was approved by a three-to-one margin. Organized labor—which is often at odds with the peace movement—played a key role in its passage with financial contributions, leafletting and educational discussions the reappropriations program. Successful mayoral candidate Wilson Goode heartily endorsed Philadelphia's referendum, noting that the City of Brotherly Love has lost \$233.5 million in federal aid since President Reagan took office.

Pittsfield, Mass.—known more for a GE plant that produces parts for nuclear subs than for fraternal affections—also supported the referendum with a surprising 68 percent of the vote. "It's obvious that, given a choice, the people of Pittsfield would rather have Jobs with Peace than jobs with the Pentagon," noted Jonathan King, national co-chair of the Jobs with Peace campaign.

Salvador prof freed

On November 10 a California delegation obtained the release of Ricardo Calderon, the secretary-general of the National University of El Salvador, who had been held without charges for four months in the Mariona Prison in El Salvador. Calderon is the first Salvadoran political prisoner to be set free due to pressure from groups in the U.S., Bill Hinchberger reports. The 48-year-old professor of journalism and former newspaper reporter was one of more than 400 political prisoners at Mariona suspected of being a "subversive" by the government. At a November 15 press conference in San Francisco, he said that inmates are subjected to both physical and psychological torture, but that he was spared most physical abuses because his case was being followed internationally. "They had to reduce the physical torture, but not the psychological. To remember it now makes me feel like crying."

The delegation was part of a campaign by California human rights activists that included postcards demanding the professor's release addressed to the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador and Salvadoran President Alvaro Magana, as well as visits to the Salvadoran Consulate in San Francisco and finally a meeting with Magana himself. Soon thereafter the Salvadoran president ordered Calderon set free.

Win one, lose some

The fallout that settled on the paradigmatic American town of Lawrence, Kan., left bitter ashes in some peace activists' mouths. Due to their involvement in the filming of *The Day After*, townspeople were gradually galvanized by the nuclear disarmament issue—last year 74 percent approved a nuclear freeze referendum—and activists there hoped the peace fever would spread to other issues. But the Grenada invasion gave the town a chance for a seeming about-face. Enthusiastic back-thumping in the local bars and renewed interest in Ranger recruitment accompanied announcements that the invasion was a success. As Mayor David Longhurst ruefully noted, a vote for the freeze was not necessarily a vote for peace. "What do you think the public sentiment would be if we launched a nuclear strike against the Soviets in such a way that we knew they couldn't retaliate? I think many here would be jubilant."

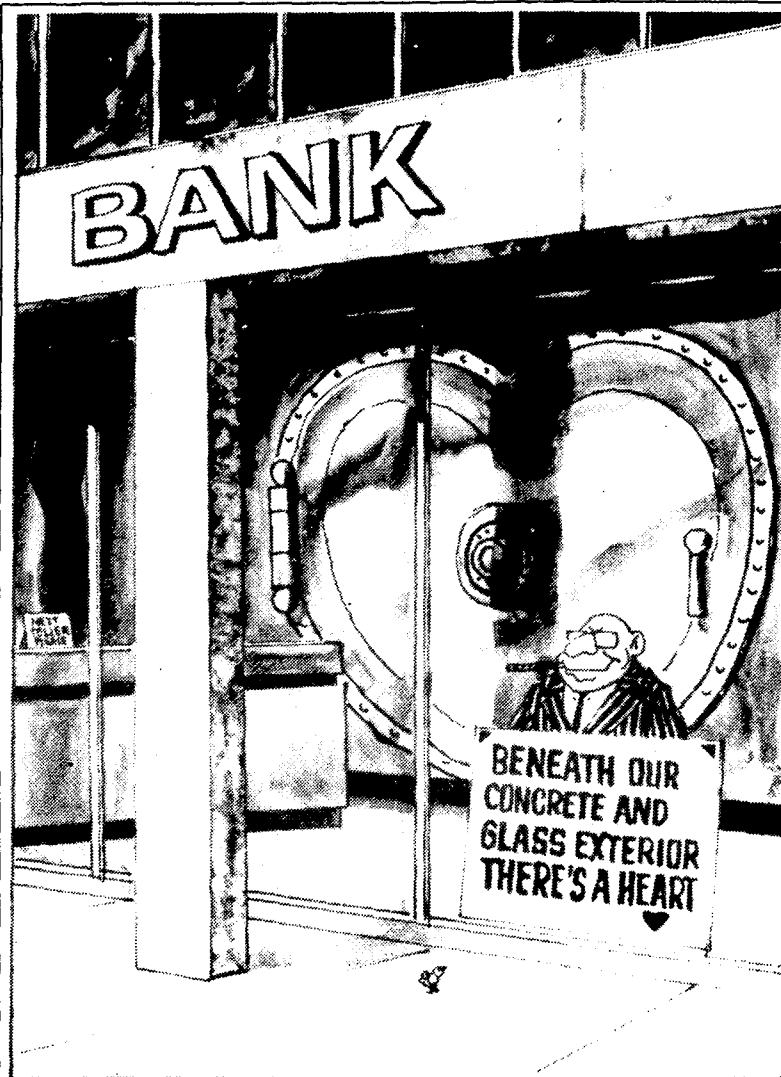
The gloating interventionism that may seem inconsistent with peace politics at first glance apparently has its own sort of logic: survival is the first goal, but winning is a close second. Nuclear war is taboo only because of the high price, but distant Third World countries are an easy set-up for a U.S. win with relatively little U.S. cost, or so the logic goes. But peace activists in Lawrence are trying to expand the "tunnel-vision" that single-issue politics creates by unabashedly linking U.S. policies in Central America with nuclear war. One prominent billboard pictures U.S. troops leaping from a helicopter with the legend "El Salvador—A Step to Nuclear War?" emblazoned across it.

Across the country in another college town, 450 faculty and staff from Yale University are fed up with the macho "win-language" altogether. They signed a protest petition calling for people to join in condemning the Reagan administration's use of "the military and the CIA to effect the violent overthrow of other nations...which mocks international law and morality."

Rumor of the year

After the Soviet Union shot down the Korean Airliner over Soviet air space in September, rumors cropped up in Washington that prior to its trip from New York to Seoul, the Korean airliner had been fitted at Andrews Air Force Base with special aerial surveillance devices. The rumor persists, and all three TV networks are reportedly trying to turn it into fact. One report has it that eye witnesses have been found at Andrews Air Force Base, but that investigators have yet to match the serial numbers on the Air Force base invoices with as yet unknown serial numbers of the airplane. Stay tuned.

—Beth Maschinot



Willmar bank joins UAW

WILLMAR, MN—Six years after the Willmar 8 failed to win recognition of their union by the Citizen's National Bank, tellers and secretaries of another bank in this central Minnesota town have successfully organized. On October 27 by a vote of 25 to 15, workers at the First National Bank & Trust Co. of Willmar became the first banking employees to be represented by the United Auto Workers (UAW).

According to Pam Sigafoos, one of the First American organizers, low pay and a lack of promotions for women led the employees to join the union. "It's the same situation as at Citizen's," she said, referring to the Willmar 8 struggle. "We were training the men in."

Learning from the mistakes of the Willmar 8, workers at First American decided to join an established union rather than attempt to form their own. Sigafoos also stressed that the UAW's record of defending women's rights in the workplace was a major factor in selecting the union, as was the union's size and clout.

To avoid a head-on confrontation with the bank, the organizers worked in secret from July until mid-September before management at the bank finally learned what the rest of the town already knew. By that time it was too late to derail the organizing effort; unionization had not only the 30 percent support needed to call an election, but the backing of 70 percent of the workers.

Of course, the bank's response to the unionization has been less than enthusiastic, but it hasn't led to the kind of showdown the Willmar 8 had with Citizen's National. Pointing to surveys showing the full-time teller's salary of about \$9,000 per year to be "competitive," personnel officer

Bill Wright feels that unionization came about only because of the sudden staff changes at the bank in the last year. In disputing the claims that First American hasn't promoted women into management, Wright points to the eight out of 20 supervisors and bank officers who are women, but then goes on to add that most of the female employees aren't qualified for any other jobs in the bank.

Sigafoos contradicts these claims, revealing that only three of the 15 bank officers are women, and that those few have been "kicked around" by the bank. Speaking of the female supervisors at the bank, Sigafoos reports that "some of these supervisory positions were suddenly created out of jobs that were already there." Speculating that the bank tried to curry a favorable vote from these recent appointees, Sigafoos laughed: "I think it backfired on them.... They [the supervisors] couldn't vote!"

While the struggle of the Willmar 8 six years ago broke the ground for the success of the First American workers, perhaps the most heartening legacy left behind was the impact on the community of Willmar. In Lee Grant's documentary, *The Willmar 8*, it is clear that the town's residents had little sympathy for the "8" and their cause. "I don't know if it's that Willmar has had time to grow or what," reported Sigafoos, "but we had a lot of community support."

—Nicholas W. Pilugin

OSHA dilutes EtO standard

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Paula Diaz has been trying to have another child for seven years. Ever since her son died in 1976, Diaz has dreamed of having another baby. But she's 46 now, and her dream is beginning to die. Diaz's age may not be the only factor working against her efforts to become

pregnant. One of her jobs as a nurse's aide at a New York City hospital regularly exposes her to a chemical called ethylene oxide (EtO), used to sterilize plastic articles that can't be put into the old steam sterilizers. Unfortunately, there are some dangerous side-effects to being exposed to EtO—including miscarriages and cancer.

A recent study in Finland showed that women hospital workers exposed to low levels of EtO had three times as many miscarriages as normal. And several laboratory studies have shown the chemical causes cancer in animals.

The first OSHA standard for EtO, issued in the mid-'70s, said that workers couldn't be exposed to more than an average of 50 parts of EtO per million particles of air during an eight-hour period. As the scientific research on the chemical revealed its potential dangers, various organizations, including Ralph Nader's Public Citizen Health Research Group, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), called on OSHA to lower that limit. OSHA first rejected the petitions, finally announcing that it would begin the bureaucratic process for issuing a new rule only after the union and the health group took their case to federal court.

That April ruling lowered the exposure limit to one part per million. Both the unions and NIOSH complained that standard was still too high. The new rule also didn't set any limit on short-term exposures.

The scientists involved in writing the rule wanted the proposal to be tougher, but were prevented from strengthening it by Dr. Leonard Vance, OSHA's director of health standards. According to a series of OSHA memos, Vance ordered his staff to halt a research project into the effects of short-term EtO exposure, mentioning to a staff member that completion of the risk assessment could create "controversy." Vance added that the OSHA scientists working on the standard didn't think a short-term exposure limit was necessary.

How Vance could reach that conclusion is a mystery, because not only Dr. Peter Infante, OSHA's top cancer expert, but also Dr. Robert Belisles—the leader of the EtO research team—believes there may be serious risks associated with short-term exposure. That's a point Belisles made in an August 25 memo to Vance. Belisles said the only reason such a limit wasn't included in the proposed rule was that the agency didn't have the data on how much such a limit would cost the EtO industry or how feasible it would be to enforce.

What makes all of this so suspect is that in June, Vance held a private meeting with Arlin Voress, a Union Carbide executive who is chairman of the Ethylene Oxide Industry Council. Just before that meeting with Vance, Voress talked with Belisles, suggesting that there should be no ceiling on EtO exposure and that the industry was ready to support the one part per million limit.

Shortly thereafter, Vance be-

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gan limiting OSHA scientists' efforts. The house subcommittee on labor standards is now investigating charges that Vance's actions were influenced by the EtO industry, a charge Vance dismisses as "absurd."

Vance also says that there is no existing technology to measure amounts of EtO below one part per million. Yet during the hearings, NIOSH scientists testified about two different devices now in use that can measure EtO below 0.1 part per million.

No one is suggesting that EtO be banned. No other known substance can be used as safely to sterilize pacemakers, plastics and other pieces that are essential to modern medicine. All Infante, Belisles and the unions fighting the OSHA proposal argue is that it be used in ways that pose the least possible risk to the workers exposed.

—Harvy Lipman

EEC defends farm supports

ST. PAUL, MN—The world "Farm Summit" held in Ottawa last July so impressed Minnesota Representative Wally Sparby, a Democrat from the wheat and sugarbeet plains near the Red River Valley, that he convinced fellow Minnesota legislators to invite Canadian and European delegations to the Midwest. Members of the Minnesota House Agricultural Committee, as well as politicians from Nebraska and North Dakota, came to the state capitol in St. Paul for discussions of various agriculture policies, particularly European farm subsidies. The talks offered lawmakers from three of the eight Midwestern states considering minimum price legislation the chance to hear a European perspective.

Henri Saby, a member of the European Economic Community (EEC) and its budget committee, defended EEC farm support policies that had weathered attacks during the spring round of General Accords in Trade and Tariffs (GATT) talks in Geneva. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) officials had characterized the European program as "unfair competition" for U.S. grain exports and downright "wasteful."

Saby forcefully countered the U.S. complaint of unfair competition: "It is not justified, because

78 percent of U.S. exports to Europe enter without any regulation at all. The remedy the U.S. seeks (decreased subsidy and tax levels for certain crops) would cover only 3 percent of the U.S. markets in Europe, yet would cost the EEC three times the amount of the current EEC budget."

Also refuting U.S. claims that EEC subsidies are expensive, Saby noted that the U.S. spends 35 percent more in subsidy than the EEC, even though the EEC has twice as many farmers. And in the U.S. that subsidy is paid to the agriculture industry—often agribusiness corporation—rather than to farmers.

Saby also pointed out that U.S. traders have shipped massive quantities of corn gluten (a high protein corn extract) and soybeans to Europe, making the EEC "totally dependent on the U.S. for animal feedstuffs." Grain produced on EEC farms is then exported at high cost to the EEC, since farmers are subsidized to compensate for low world prices.

In addition, the low prices hurt U.S. farmers, as official White House figures show: each week 1,000 farms go bankrupt. Also hard hit are Third World countries whose main exports are agricultural commodities.

The major problems confronting EEC farmers are the strength of the U.S. dollar, which diminishes European purchasing power, and high interest rates, which force capital to be funneled to purchase dollars rather than invested in production.

Saby noted that "the European public is losing its trust in the U.S." through such trade disputes. "On the one hand, the U.S. wants to see European nations as allies. On the other, the U.S. follows trade policies that make Europe more fragile against the so-called enemy."

The first step toward solving the trade dispute, according to Saby, is to renegotiate world currencies to a stable level, based on world gross national product. Saby also hopes to raise world prices for food commodities.

Following a meeting with Saby, Minnesota Agriculture Commissioner Jim Nichols was convinced that "France has problems much like ours in Minnesota. We have to remember the EEC is the U.S.'s biggest food customer. We have to remember we're a world economy."

—Ken Meter

Briefing: An update on brown lung

Brown lung, or byssinosis, is a respiratory ailment claiming an estimated 35,000 victims and threatening another 100,000 active textile workers. Shortly after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the present cotton-dust regulations in 1981, Thorne Auchter, Reagan's under secretary of labor in charge of the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) and the main force behind a lobbying effort aimed at swaying the justices toward a less stringent regulation, announced his intention "to reduce the regulatory burden on business." Since then, OSHA has cut its staff, reduced the number of inspections and failed to issue a single new rule limiting on-the-job exposures to toxic substances (see *In These Times*, Sept. 21).

OSHA's recommendations on the cotton-dust standard—reductions of in-house medical surveillance and employee training in identifying brown lung as well as a relaxation of restrictions on employer discrimination when workers report symptoms—are dismal and place the rank and file at significantly greater health risk. To counter this attempt to weaken the present standard, several active and retired mill workers travelled to Washington, D.C., in September to testify at OSHA hearings.

Eric Frumin, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) safety and health director, countered pro-industry witnesses with an array of medical experts, active textile workers and Brown Lung Association (BLA) members, all of whom pointed to the dangers posed by relaxing the present standard.

But perhaps the most damning testimony came from Dr. Morton Corn, former OSHA director under President Ford, who referred to the agency's proposals as "*deja vu* arguments long ago rejected by the scientific community." Corn's judgment, coming as it did from a conservative whose credentials are impeccable, was weighty and was supported by the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), the federal research branch created under the OSHA Act. Dr. Corn strongly criticized OSHA's proposed reductions in employee education, noting that "all my previous experience indicates that...removal of required annual training is contrary to proven safety practices."

Reductions in the number of inspections had also disturbed Scott Hyman, ACTWU's vice-president, who claimed that since 1981 OSHA has performed only two inspections under the cotton-dust guidelines in Georgia and Alabama, states where the federal government has foremost responsibility. In contrast, North Carolina's Department of Labor, hardly

known for administrative zeal regarding such matters, made 106 inspections by September 1982 and discovered numerous firms in violation.

The new guidelines would also reduce required monitoring of dust emissions by establishing an "action level." This would allow firms that are tested twice annually and found to be significantly below the maximum permissible cotton-dust level to be exempt from routine inspections unless changes in technology or work practices are introduced.

Originally, American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) wanted OSHA to increase allowable dust levels by two-and-one-half times. The agency rejected the supportive evidence offered on ATMI's behalf by Dr. Harold Imbus, former medical director for Burlington Industries, despite his claims that "very few employees have byssinosis symptoms" in an age when "textile workers are...healthier than their counterparts in other industries."

Instead of increasing permissible emissions, OSHA opted for the "action level" concept. But Frumin cited the testimony of NIOSH officials as well as that of Drs. Corn, Merchant and Schachter, all of whom agreed that "action levels" assume a threshold point below which occupational exposures are unrelated to disease.

But while this may be the case for lead, inorganic arsenic, vinyl chloride and acrylonitrile, cotton dust has no threshold point: at all levels of exposure, workers manifest greater incidence of brown lung than the general population.

In a Supreme Court decision, the Court struck down the "wage retention" clause that allows workers who request in-house transfers due to breathing problems to retain current wages and thereby avoid penalty for reporting dirty conditions. The justice struck the clause because "[OSHA] has failed to make the necessary determination or statement of reasons that its wage guarantee requirement is related to the achievement of a safe and healthful work environment." Yet in its agenda presented at the hearings, OSHA refused to advance the case for wage retention

within the textile industry.

Shop steward Curtis Canady asked the hearing board members to imagine what they would do "if [they] were sick but disclosing it would cut their salaries in half." "I know what I'd do," he added, "I'd lie!"

And ACTWU's Eric Frumin pointed to OSHA's own findings on the benefits of wage retention that it is "the most effective device for maximizing meaningful worker participation in the medical surveillance program," and that without it "many worker (at least those exposed to lead) would face a painful dilemma of choosing between economic security and medical attention." Moreover, noted Fruman, wage guarantees already exist in Burlington Mills and in J.P. Stevens plants under newly negotiated union contracts.

For most textile workers the absence of union protection means increased vulnerability and discrimination for reporting problems. According to a congressional committee study, an estimated 20 percent of active millhands may qualify for transfer due to breathing difficulties, yet the legacy of job firings for real or suspected ailments is well known throughout the industry. One such incident occurred at the

Bladenboro Mills in North Carolina in 1980, where new owners required medical exams of all employees and terminated the employment of many who had non-disabling lung impairments. In light of this, the absence of wage retention and job protection clauses weakens federal workplace health regulations, the point ACTWU and others sought to make at the hearings.

Whether or not OSHA will successfully revise the existing cotton-dust standard is questionable, but clearly they have helped to revitalize ACTWU's alliance with the BLA. The BLA has been using the September hearings held in Washington and later ones scheduled in South Carolina and Texas as rallying points.

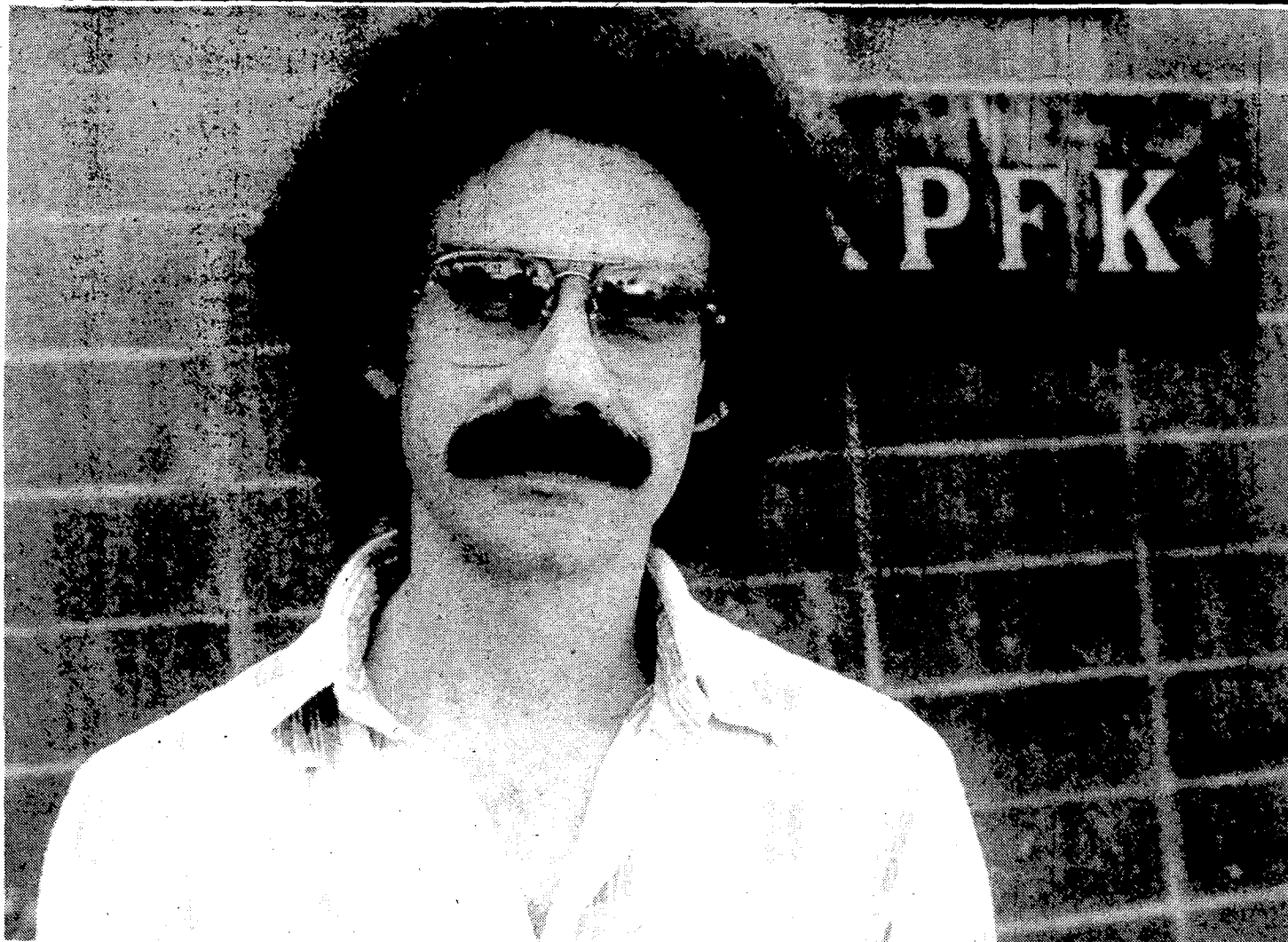
As Curtis Canady put it, "A number of us have been coming to Washington for 10 years, since the first efforts to get a cotton-dust standard, and now some of us are brown lung victims ourselves. I wonder if these proposals go through, will I come back in 10 years as another victim?" Adds Debbie Weimer, former BLA legal counsel, "The key to reducing brown lung depends on unionizing the industry and electing some progressive politicians."

—Gary Peck & Richard Guarasci



Lorel Delvingne

IN THE NATION



KPFK general manager Jim Berland was recently fired, but then reinstated by an executive committee of Pacifica's national board.

RADIO

The battle goes on at Pacifica Radio in Los Angeles

By Joan Walsh

LOS ANGELES

TO SUPPORTERS OF PACIFICA radio station KPFK in Los Angeles, the communique had to be disturbing. "Are the Pacifica Foundation and Jim Berland censoring the news?" asked a leaflet distributed to KPFK Film Club members in mid-September by the "Committee to Save Free Speech Radio."

The flyer outlined the controversy that has wracked Pacifica the past 18 months: the firings of KPFK program director Clare Spark and Washington bureau chief Tim Frasca, the demotion of KPFK news director Marc Cooper, the international dispute over corporate funding and other financial decisions made by foundation management.

Behind all the disarray, the communique alleged, was a political crusade by Pacifica executive director Sharon Maeda and KPFK General Manager Jim Berland to make "Pacifica indistinguishable from National Public Radio" by purging "anti-imperialists" Spark, Cooper and Frasca. The three were labeled the "desaparecidos," a rhetorical flourish that for some symbolizes the ex-staffers' admirable solidarity with Third World struggles and for others to their blend of political naivete and arrogance.

The battle continued. In mid-November Pacifica president Peter Franck entered the fray, setting himself up in a KPFK office and commencing an investigation into Berland's management. A week later, armed with a still-unreleased 40-page report containing "hundreds" of charges against Berland, Franck dis-

missed him. But the next day Berland was back on the job, his firing reversed by an executive committee of Pacifica's national board.

The Berland rehiring may have been the final paroxysm in a power struggle nobody wants to acknowledge. But unease persists at Pacifica. Although personal enmities and professional rivalries may ultimately be more important in the conflict than ideological differences, there is a political component to the battling. The war within Pacifica has been a fight over the role of a non-commercial left community radio network in reporting on political and cultural trends, as well as in fostering challenges to them.

Established by Washington radio veteran Lewis Hill in 1949 to counter the Cold War's political and cultural chill, Pacifica's political mandate was broad, affiliating it with no ideological or political program. Its articles of incorporation committed the stations to "any activity that shall contribute to a lasting understanding between nations...races, creeds and colors; to gather and disseminate information on the causes of conflicts between such groups; to promote the study of political and economic problems."

From the beginning, it attracted critics of the prevailing social order, airing attacks on Sen. Joseph McCarthy before Edward R. Murrow took him on, for example. But it was during the ferment of the anti-war and civil rights movement in the late '60s and early '70s that the foundation came into its own, as a sort of anti-war movement radio, with stations in Berkeley, Los Angeles and New York, linking activists around the country. Its news departments became especially important. The My Lai massacre was first

reported by Pacifica stations. On the domestic front, KPFK opened a Watts bureau to report on the turmoil in L.A.'s black community.

But after the activity of those years dissipated, the foundation, like the left in general, lost some of its cohesion and purpose. New York's WBAI was gripped by bitter internal battles in the mid-'70s, with hardline factions taking over the station and programmers chaining themselves to transmitters. At KPFK the mid-'70s malaise was less dramatic, but staff discontent showed itself in the formation of a union that demanded clearer lines of responsibility and authority, an affirmative action program and a sharper political focus at the station.

From his base as union founder, news director Jim Berland mounted a challenge to KPFK management and emerged as station general manager in 1977. By all accounts, Berland intended to "politicize" KPFK and pledged to implement its affirmative action goals in staff and programming. But programming changes are difficult at Pacifica, where low staff salaries and dependence on volunteers make program turf battles especially bitter—most staff members have nothing but their airtime and they defend it energetically. Widely described as a "conflict-avoider," Berland was looking for someone to shape the station's programming, sharpen its political edge but allow him to stay out of the inevit-

It is a fight over the role of a non-commercial left community radio network in reporting trends as well as challenging them.

able infighting.

He thought he found that person in Clare Spark. A longtime KPFK volunteer programmer—when hired she produced a weekly *Politics of Culture* show—Spark's media experience, socialist politics and academic background made her a reasonable choice to edge the station left, expand its focus to include L.A.'s women's and Latino communities and produce high-quality programming in the process.

A media vanguard.

Spark took her mandate seriously. Shortly after her hiring, at a Pacifica program directors' meeting in May 1981, she helped draft a resolution reinterpreting Lew Hill's articles of incorporation as a mandate to battle "racism, sexism and imperialism" in the world and within Pacifica. Spark would later say the resolution "amended the Pacifica charter," but it didn't, since the articles of incorporation can't be amended. But the resolution, adopted "in spirit" by the Pacifica board, would become the blueprint for Spark's attempt to make KPFK a left media vanguard.

All programming at Pacifica was to include a "race, class and gender analysis." To Spark's credit, KPFK began to focus on the emerging peace movement, which with Marc Cooper's Latin American reporting became central to the station's mission. They were expanding the station's base, and the new outreach paid off in fundraising—both raised significant amounts of money during their programming, and fundraising would later become central to their attack on Berland.

But other sectors of the station bristled at Spark's real and imagined attempts to politicize all KPFK programming. The music department revolted early (Spark's eventual firing would follow a conflict with the interim music director over lending a feminist analysis to reggae programming). Music directors Carl Stone and Paul Vangelisti left the station.

In political programming, Spark met resistance as well. She cancelled a right-wing libertarian's bi-weekly commentary for a slur against Jane Fonda. Even Ian Mathews, moderator of the respected weekly show *National Security*, complained of attempts to impose a more rigid ideological line. He says he was discouraged from interviewing military experts and government officials who disagreed with Spark's views.

Spark blames her problems with programmers on a lack of support from Berland, who directed her to politicize programming but refused to back her up in conflicts. She had envisioned workshops and study groups to help programmers "improve their capacity to be less racist, sexist and to understand imperialism," in accordance with the 1981 charter resolution, but got no support from Berland. "He told me to stop even discussing the charter on the air," she says.

In the end, Spark was fired for her inability to work harmoniously with the programmers, but no one denies that her political crusade played a large part in her dismissal. Spark criticized the "pluralism" of Berland's KPFK, which she contends "airs competing interest groups with no analysis of class or gender differences." Berland agrees that he believes the station must represent "a wide diversity of ideas," and says he was uneasy with the "increased sharpness" of Spark's programming.

The debate still goes on today. "Of course, Clare's mandate would mean the dismissal of programmers," says Marc Cooper. "That may be unfair to them, but it's very fair to new Latin American programmers who never had any airtime." Berland, Cooper notes with derision, "actually talks about the 'free marketplace of ideas.'" Longtime KPFK

Continued on page 10

CANADA

Antinuclear movement swells

By Peter Prongos

VANCOUVER

CANADA'S ANTINUCLEAR movement has grown in recent years from small pockets of idealists into a mass movement that draws its support from almost every sector of society. Yet the ultimate impact of the peace movement here remains uncertain, and both internal problems and external opposition pose serious threats to its effectiveness.

The roots of this surge of peace activity, unprecedented in Canada, can be traced to two main causes. The first, Canadian complicity in the American arms buildup, was brought rudely to the public's attention in March of 1982 when the media detailed secret discussions between the Canadian and U.S. governments about allowing the testing of American air-launched Cruise missiles (ALCM) over Canadian territory.

Second, like millions of other people in Europe and the U.S., Canadians have become increasingly alarmed by both the rhetoric and the reality of President Ronald Reagan's military policies. His loose talk about "winning" a "limited nuclear war," coupled with the most massive arms buildup in history, has greatly increased Canadians' fears of a nuclear holocaust. Canadian participation in the development of Cruise missiles is perceived by many as a dangerous escalation of the nuclear arms spiral, as well as being a clear-cut example of Canadian military and political complicity in Reagan's "new Cold War."

The Cruise agreements call for American B-52 bombers (currently at Griffths Air Force Base near Rome, N.Y.) to fly to the Northwest Territories and launch their unarmed missiles, which will then fly over British Columbia and eventually come to earth at the Primrose Lake Air Weapons Range on the Alberta/Saskatchewan border.

The military purpose of these flights is to test the entire weapon system, particularly the critical navigation instruments, by flying over snow-covered ground similar to the terrain around Moscow. The central importance of accuracy in the role of the Cruise as a nuclear war fighting weapon partly explains the importance of the test to Washington. Scheduled to begin in 1984, there will be six to 12 ALCMs tested each year during the months of January, February and March.

Anatomy of a crusade.

Throughout the '70s, only a handful of peace groups worked actively in Canada, whereas today hundreds of new peace organizations have sprung up in small towns and cities, as well as in the metropolitan areas of Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Their tactics range from peace camps and phone-ins to civil disobedience and tax resistance.

Canadians from almost all walks of life are now expressing their concern over policies that steadily increase the chances of nuclear war. But as the peace movement grows, serious weaknesses have also become apparent. Conspicuously absent, for example, is a substantial antinuclear movement in the province of Quebec. This lack is particularly serious because Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's Liberal Party has its political base in "la belle province," and he would be forced to pay more heed to a strong movement in that part of Canada.

For its part, Trudeau's majority government is badly divided over the issue of Cruise testing. The party president has publicly voiced her opposition to the agreement and there are reports of shouting matches in the cabinet during debate on the Cruise.

Most Parliament members appear both ill-informed and uncomfortable with the issue, although a majority would probably support the government. But the prime minister has refused to permit a free (non-partisan) vote; the decision was made in a secret cabinet meeting to accept the Cruise and the announcement was made late on a Friday afternoon when the House was out of session.

The Progressive Conservatives, the largest opposition party—and the one which may rise to power in the next election—generally supports the Cruise decision. This stance is not surprising since they are politically to the right of the ruling Liberals.

Only the New Democratic Party (NDP) has condemned Cruise testing. Party leader Ed Broadbent has called the agreement "a bitter tragedy" and has vowed to make it a major election issue. The NDP, a social democratic party that belongs to the Socialist International, usually polls between 15-20 percent in federal elections.

The government's response.

The federal government's response to the peace movement has been one of evasion, stonewalling and outright lies. The prime minister resorted to slander in an unprecedented "open letter" to Canadians in which he accused those who dissented of "hypocrisy" and "anti-Americanism." His government argues that the Cruise is needed to compensate for the Russian SS-20 missiles already in Europe, and that NATO commitments oblige Canada to test the Cruise.

Anti-Cruise groups counter that NATO's 30,000 nuclear weapons are overkill enough for deterrence, and that the air-launched Cruise is exclusively an American weapon, since the ones to be installed in Europe are ground-launched. Moreover, critics point out that no European governments have formally requested Canada to test the Cruise. In other words, Canada's "obligation" is a lie.

More important, the peace movement has pointed out that the Cruise missile is so small (about six meters) and so deadly (equalling about 15 Hiroshima-sized blasts) that the existence of thousands of such weapons, as planned by the Pentagon, will make arms control and verification impossible. Furthermore, the Cruise has been designed as accurate and lethal enough to make it "usable" in a "limited nuclear war." This accuracy can only be developed and proved in exactly the sort of test that Trudeau has agreed to.

Trudeau states that Canada would cancel the testing only in the event of a breakthrough at the Geneva arms talks or a Canadian decision to pull out of NATO altogether, neither of which is likely in the near future.

One explanation for Trudeau's intransigence is his fear of angering the Reagan administration. Economic retaliation by Canada's largest trading partner could be severe. Currently about two-thirds of Canadian industry is American owned or controlled. Furthermore, the Canadian arms industry might be shut out of the bidding for billions of dollars in U.S. military contracts if Washington is angered by an independent Canadian foreign policy. It appears that Washington values Canadian political support as

much as it does the country's military cooperation.

Such political support will be more and more difficult to garner as the number of Canadians committed to a non-nuclear future continues to grow. The strength and diversity of public support among Canadians for peace and mutual disarmament is seen in the vast range of peace groups—from war veterans to women's groups to artists and union members, as well as by voters' overwhelming approval (80-90 percent) of peace referendums held in more than 120 municipalities.

The most impressive event so far occurred April 23 when the largest peace rally in Canadian history took place in Vancouver. A crowd estimated at 80,000-100,000 turned out for the "Walk for Peace" sponsored by "End the Arms Race," an umbrella organization representing about 150 local groups.

The Vancouver City Council, like those in a number of other Canadian cities, declared the municipality to be a nuclear-free zone and sent leaflets to every home in the city to warn about the dangers of nuclear war and to urge residents to attend the march.

Mayor Michael Harcourt was at the front of the Walk, and behind him marched "Punx for Peace," "Hindus for

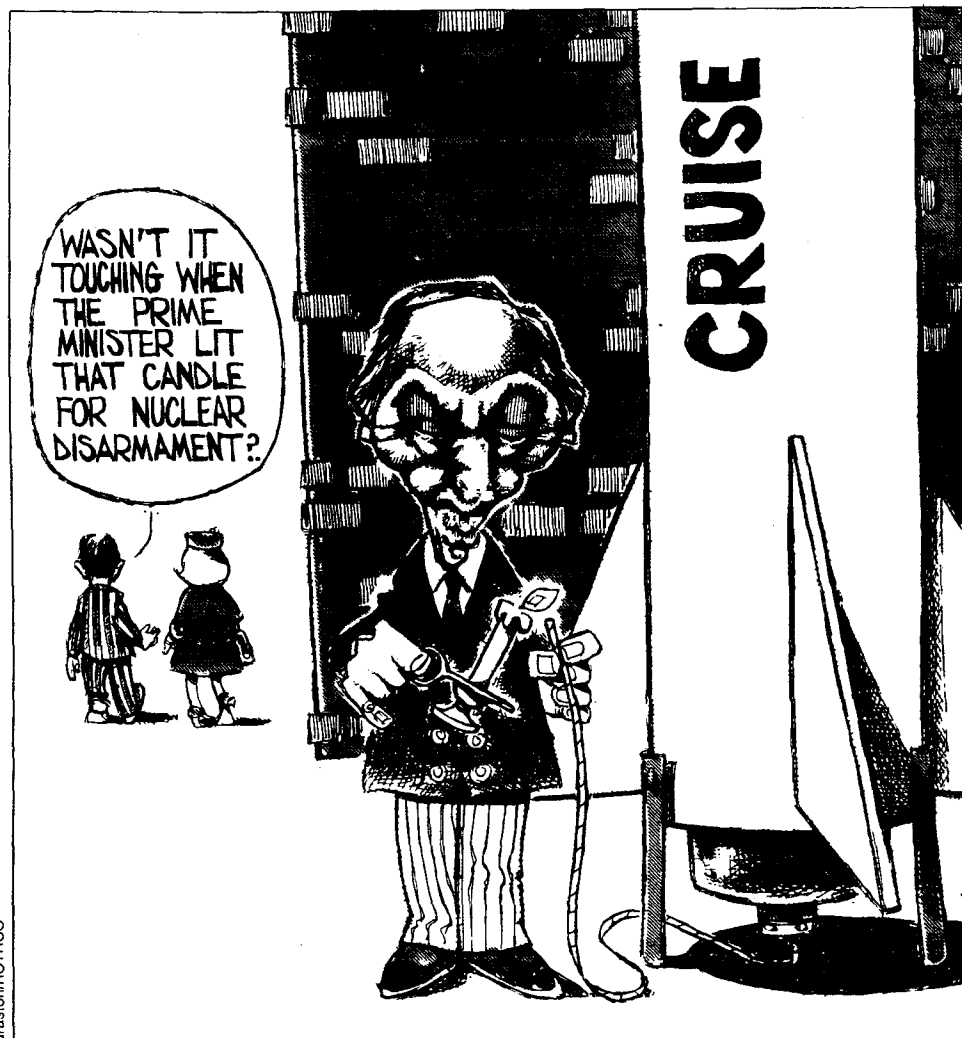
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resulted in a precedent-setting ruling by a federal court justice allowing peace organizations to legally contest the Cruise agreement as a violation of the Charter of Rights in Canada's new Constitution.

While methods of resistance vary, the movement as a whole is overwhelmingly committed to nonviolent tactics. But a group called Direct Action set off a bomb at the Litton factory last year that caused millions of dollars damage. (Five community activists are now awaiting trial in British Columbia for this and other acts.) The disagreement between those who advocate nonviolent civil disobedience and others who prefer using only legal means sets up another split in the movement.

Peace activists also have been plagued by stepped-up police harassment, partially in response to the Litton bombing. Homes have been raided, letters intercepted and spies planted. Such police actions are of questionable value against a movement that is decentralized, hydra-headed and committed to nonviolence, although they may intimidate some people, causing them to be less vocal.

As in other countries, the most significant internal debate within the Canadian peace movement regards ideology and focus. Many activists don't want to address the issue of nuclear power, for example, considering it both divisive and peripheral. While many of the more experienced organizers feel, on the contrary, that it is necessary to go beyond the single-issue, "least-common-denominator" approach and to emphasize the interconnections between the arms race and capitalism, patriarchy, North-South relations, ecology and multinationals.

On the other hand, more "liberal" elements want to focus on the Cruise tests exclusively, or, at most, on the specifics of the arms race. Ironically, this is also the view of Canada's tiny, but well-organized, Communist Party (CP), which wants the peace movement to ignore the



Peace," "Decorators for Peace," and "Joggers for Peace." Most of the police on duty wore badges that proclaimed "Police for Peace." One newspaper headline the next day read "Peace Fever Sweeps City," as the marchers represented about 20 percent of the population of Vancouver.

Thousands marched in other cities across Canada on that day to demand that the federal government "Refuse the Cruise."

But this public outpouring failed to force Trudeau to back down, and the Cruise agreement was signed with the U.S. in July. Renewed demonstrations erupted again just a week later in response to the signing, although they were smaller than those held in April. Peace groups vowed continued protests. A legal challenge was launched that eventually

related issues of support for independent peace groups in Eastern Europe, the Soviets' share of responsibility for the arms race and the connections between nuclear power and nuclear bombs. The CP's efforts to try to get the movement to follow the Russian position has largely failed, with most concerned Canadians convinced that both East and West must be held accountable for their actions.

As peace activists increasingly become a force to be reckoned with, the peace movement deserves recognition for making Trudeau's continued political subservience to the U.S. more difficult. There is strong evidence that he is now becoming less comfortable with some of Reagan's policies. Last May, for instance, Trudeau conceded that "President Reagan and some of the people around him have giv-

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By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

THE PENTAGON CAN BE PROUD of its victory over West European democracy. NATO paid absolutely no attention to public opinion—to the biggest mass movement in recent history.

Greenham Common women were carted off to jail, Italian parliamentarians were clubbed by police when they stopped to talk to pacifists on their way to the National Assembly debate, protestors were swept from the streets of Bonn by water cannon. And Cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles (which may or may not work) were duly delivered to U.S. bases in Britain, Italy and West Germany.

The last act in this power play was the intense two-day debate in the German Bundestag leading up to the November 22 vote to go ahead with missile deployment in the absence of any result at the Geneva intermediate nuclear forces (INF) talks between the U.S. and the USSR. It was a foregone conclusion. The majority Christian Democrats and Liberals voted for deployment. Social Democrats and the Greens voted against it. As soon as the vote was counted, Bonn's Defense Minister Manfred Wörner rushed to report to his boss, U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, that all was quiet on the Western front.



EUROMISSILES

Deployment—the fate of the Germans

Photographs by
Lionel Delevingne

policies that seem sensible to most of them. Brandt said he was no optimist. The SPD leader told his own party that he considered the threats from the arms race, the imminent breakdown of the international trade system and the many-sided mixing of "East-West" with "North-South" extremely dangerous. "But I have decided on the working hypothesis that the self-destruction of humanity may still be averted," he said. "I am betting not on fear, but on critical reason and the courage to correct ourselves."

What some commentators called "the power struggle" between Helmut Schmidt and Willy Brandt, which ended with Brandt's triumph at the Cologne party meeting, might more correctly be described as a contest between political philosophies. Their debate hinged on differing views of how to bring "rationality"

ernment is to win over public opinion, not run after it." But to what? To Pentagon dictates? It took the maverick Brandt to commit the heresy of defending those in the peace movement as "more rational" than the elite who accept the nuclear arms race.

"We have to begin a rational design for the future in the tradition of the European enlightenment, of freedom and social democracy," Brandt told his party. "In matters of European unity, of a peaceful order, of North-South relations, social democracy must once again take on its shoulders what could have been expected from an enlightened bourgeoisie."

By channeling the renovating impulse of the peace movement through his party, Brandt did not appear to be seeking personal power (he is too old and skeptical for that). Instead he was breaking through the paralysis of Schmidt's pragmatic realism on behalf of the SPD's younger generation.

One of the younger SPD leaders, Karsten Voigt, assailed the aggressiveness of right-wing Christian Democrats as a sign of fear. "Your fixation on Pershing II is a compensation for your pessimistic Spenglerian vision of the decline of the West," Voigt told the conservatives in the Bundestag. "Our vision of the year 2000 is not the Airland Battle, but a free and peaceful Europe."

Private conversation with European conservatives quickly confirms Voigt's charge. They cling to the U.S. because of both their conviction that Europe is worn out and fear of their own "masses," whose social demands they readily equate with weakness for Russian Communism.

Brandt repeated the proposal he made to the U.S. Congress on September 28 for a step-by-step verifiable freeze on testing, production and deployment of all nuclear weapons. In the longer range, the SPD will spell out its comprehensive peace policy based on the idea of "security partnership" and purely defensive strategies at its regular congress next May.

On the other side, the debate occasionally took an ominous turn. There were insinuations that Social Democrats were disloyal to the West. Brandt reacted sharply to such "slander" and asked Chancellor Helmut Kohl whether German interests were really served by spreading the false impression that the SPD did not support the Atlantic Alliance, national defense and the Bundeswehr.

"No doubt should be cast on the determination of the Federal Republic not to bow to any pressure, any blackmail," he declared. Brandt recalled his friendship with President John Kennedy, who had been assassinated exactly 20 years before, and said friendship with the U.S. should not be reduced to a few cabinet ministers currently in office.

"What have you gained when you get a couple more weapons and lose the hearts and minds of the people in the Alliance?" he asked.

Although Social Democrats had, with some misgivings, supported the "double decision," they had watched with "dis-may" as the "arms control and detente part" shriveled into "pure camouflage," Brandt said. Soviet offers to scrap SS-20s were ignored. "The Alliance and the Federal Republic are frivolously and blatantly missing the historic chance to bind the Soviet Union to an agreement to scrap a large number of modern nuclear weapons for the first time in history," he told the Bundestag.

Brandt is hoping to arouse understanding and support in the U.S. outside, and against, the Reagan administration. But pessimistic Europeans think the East Coast liberals who "understand" Europe have lost power permanently. With the U.S. being led by politicians like Reagan—who apparently neither know nor care about Europe at all—the German right hopes to stay in office for a long time. It wants Washington to veto the SPD as unreliable in East-West matters. Already the American press, generally strongly influenced by U.S. embassies in its foreign political coverage, is tending to ignore and distort SPD positions as too radical to be taken seriously.

While demanding that Europe exert an



Indeed, for the moment a sort of stunned, exhausted silence fell on many Europeans as they strained to see what lay beyond this turning point.

In the brightly lit dusk of downtown Bonn, Christmas shoppers coming around the Cathedral were stopped by an eerie sight. At a long, narrow table spread with a few candles, glasses of wine and pieces of bread sat a hundred chalk-white-faced men and women, all dressed in black. They were silent and melancholy. Two ghostly musicians played a strange, sad air on the flute and accordion. The sign behind them read: "Condemned to death by the Bundestag."

Almost all the arguments developed during the past four years (and there were volumes of them) for, but especially against, the missile deployment were repeated, often with passion and eloquence, in the final Bundestag debate.

At a special convention in Cologne two days earlier, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had put an end to its long inner split caused by former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's strong personal endorsement of the December 1979 NATO "double decision" to "modernize" the alliance's nuclear forces while seeking a European theater arms control agreement with the USSR. Only 13 of the 400 elected party delegates—four of them former cabinet ministers who shared responsibility—voted with Schmidt against the SPD's resounding "no" to missile deployment. The

SPD entered the Bundestag debate with a freshly recovered unity, sense of purpose and "social democratic identity."

Already the issue was what to do after the missiles came, how to get rid of them and how to halt the new rounds of nuclear arms buildup their deployment would set off. More fundamentally, the underlying issue was: can there be such a thing as a *European policy*, a *German policy*? That is, can Germans (or Europeans) determine their own fate according to their own rationality and interests?

Among established politicians, the current majority answer is obviously "no." That is the clearest meaning of the November 22 Bundestag vote. Nobody really seemed to want the Pershing II and Cruise missiles—which will not really be "NATO" but *American* missiles that are being deployed to service U.S. global strategy, not the defense of Europe. Even the Christian Democratic-Liberal coalition government resolution said the objective remained the "drastic reduction, if possible complete scrapping of land-based, medium-range missiles." But the ruling conservatives appear convinced that Europe's only hope is to stick close to Uncle Sam.

Brandt as visionary.

In the hour of the Euromissiles, Willy Brandt stood out among established politicians as a radical visionary simply by pleading for Europeans to dare defend

Willy Brandt (below) said, "I have decided on the working hypothesis that the self-destruction of humanity may still be averted."

into politics. Schmidt admits that "irrationality can exist even at the summit of power," but, as a model member of the world leaders' club, he feels rationality declines from the summit to the base.

Schmidt would surely agree with Wörner that that "the role of responsible gov-





The Greens reject an alliance with either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. They seek to link with independent peace movements in East Europe.

equal-partner role in a "reformed" Atlantic Alliance, Brandt stressed Germany's need for its allies, especially the U.S. and France. SPD policy aims at avoiding two potential temptations: a revival of German nationalism or the ambition to establish an independent European nuclear arsenal. Brandt emphasized his conviction that "the world does not need still another atomic superpower." Thus, he said he opposed a "Europe with nuclear great-power ambitions brought together in opposition to the U.S." This is the still-secret project of right-wing "Gaullists" in Germany and even among some sophisticated right-wing strategists of East European origin in the U.S.

Brandt's ambition is the opposite. "Europe as a moderating force and, eventually, a stabilizing power, will be able to help make positive changes in worldwide political power structures." In particular, such a Europe could help found new relations with the Third World. This constructive role requires a purely defensive, conventional military force rather than nuclear weapons that threaten other regions.

The Green position.

While the SPD was saying "no" to the missiles but "yes" to the Atlantic Alliance, the Green Party radicalized its post-deployment position by coming out for the first time in favor of German withdrawal from NATO. At a congress in Duisburg, the Greens decided to reject political alliance with anyone "who has a foot in NATO or in the Warsaw Pact."

In practice, this means no Communists can hope to get on the open lists of candidates that will be put up by the Green Party for state elections next year. Green priorities now are to link up with independent peace movements in Eastern Europe, especially East Germany, and seek early withdrawal from NATO.

This position was criticized in the Bundestag debate by Karsten Voigt, who said that the eventual long-range goal must be to overcome the need for NATO. "But withdrawing from NATO today would be a step backward to the nationalization of security policy," he warned.

When a Green asked him to admit that the Greens were not nationalistic, Voigt said he "wished things were that simple. Next to healthy patriotism, there is a re-nascent nationalism, on the left too, not only on the right." Germans had to be especially attentive to history and to their neighbors' concerns, Voigt said.

The SPD did all it could to make defeat painless for Helmut Schmidt. The face-saving line officially stated by the party and developed by Schmidt himself was that the "double decision" might have had a happy ending—that is, an arms control agreement instead of an arms buildup—if Schmidt had stayed in office as chancellor.

With his incomparable influence as star member of the world leaders' club, Schmidt would surely have been able to bully Washington and Moscow into a good deal. Instead, wishy-washy Helmut Kohl let the "walk-in-the-woods" deal get away. This is the flattering myth that the SPD gave to Schmidt to soothe him during his retirement.

Privately, many believe that the clever chancellor let himself be maneuvered by the Pentagon into championing weapons systems contrary to German interests. Even Schmidt admitted that agreeing to deploy the Pershing II in Germany, and only in Germany, was "a mistake."

Oskar Lafontaine, mayor of Saarbrücken, said he was glad to see the lumbering old ship SPD finally brought back on course. But a healthy number of the extra-parliamentary left, in addition to the Greens, consider this just another example of the SPD's historic record of "too little and too late."

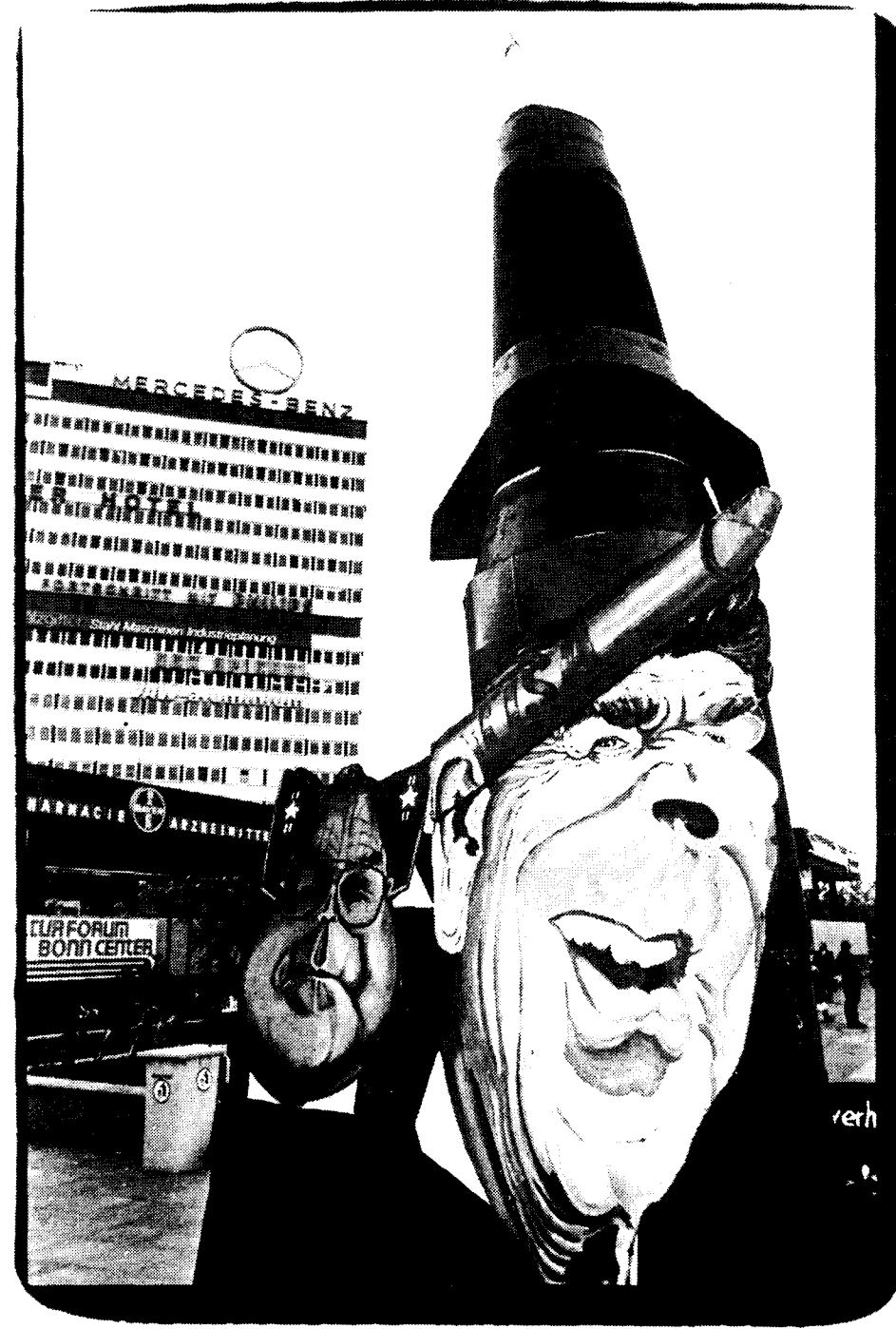
The SPD, its critics recall, failed to block World War I, failed to stop the rise of Hitler and now has failed to prevent

the deployment of nuclear missiles some fear may be intended by the Reagan administration to decapitate the "evil empire" and provide a "final solution to the Russian Communist problem."

Those who see the situation in desperate terms may feel compelled to more desperate opposition than the long-range political program of the SPD. Social Democrats are finally coming around to a

After a busy fall of peace protests (above) silence has fallen on many Germans now that the missiles are in.

coherent policy that by the light of current reason seems able, as Willy Brandt said, to rally majority support in West Germany and in Europe. The question as the missiles arrive is what room and time remain for Europe's political rationality?



Labor Notes

Continued from page 2

Weisen's ability to mount an effective challenge. Suddenly last week the picture changed when Odorich announced that he was withdrawing and would support Treasurer Frank McKee, who had been mentioned by some prominent opposition leaders as a possible candidate, depending on his program. McKee is seen by some as less deeply implicated in the steel pact concessions and received some plaudits for his copper industry

negotiations, where Phelps Dodge is holding out in a long strike against the industry pattern settlement.

Key issues for "dissidents" include opposition to concessions, members' right to ratify contracts and greater internal democracy in the union. But if opposition elements do split between Weisen—who may still decide to withdraw—and McKee—who had not yet announced his candidacy as *In These Times* went to press—Williams is clearly the beneficiary. ■

Pacifica

Continued from page 6

programmer Dorothy Healey, who supported Berland in the conflict, says this is primitive Marxism. "It's contempt for our listeners, the ideas that we have to protect them from 'bad things.'"

News differences.

Internal conflict continued at Pacifica, even after Spark's firing was upheld, significantly, by her current ally, Peter Franck. Most of the dissent came from the KPFA news department, which had been closely allied with Spark in her mission to "politicize" the station and in

her ideas about how to do that.

The news and public affairs departments of Pacifica stations have always been the foundation's cutting political edge. Under Cooper's direction the KPFA news department made the Central American conflict and other international news a major focus, a priority shared by Washington bureau chief Tim Frasca. The pair won Associated Press awards for their coverage of the 1982 El Salvador elections. In 1983 Cooper traveled to Nicaragua, Argentina and Chile.

Local politics got a lot less attention. That was partly because of Pacifica's scarce resources and the attention local commercial radio gave the political scene, but it also reflected a judgment shared by Cooper and Spark that local politics, even on the left, were not as im-

portant as international struggles. Spark dismisses the criticism of the station's local news as "redbaiting," an attack on the "politics" of international reporting.

Similar beliefs shaped the focus of the Washington bureau. At times conflict flared up between Washington and Berkeley station KPFA over the "style and substance" of Frasca's newscasts, acknowledges KPFA news director Aileen Alfandary. Frasca took a dim view of reporting on the Democratic Party; indeed, of most electoral politics. Coverage of left groups' lobbying in Washington—nuclear freeze, women's and labor organizations—was spotty. There was disagreement over the importance of 1980 Democratic convention coverage, which KPFA spearheaded. Cooper attributes the differences to KPFA sectarianism—"They're narrow about coverage that doesn't treat the regeneration of the Democratic Party as the most important issue."

Even Maeda, who had supported Frasca's demotion of popular Israeli reporter Peretz Kidron for an insufficiently anti-Israel line in 1981, began to chide the Washington bureau for "cynical" reporting, a term that found its way into a negative job evaluation of Frasca by Maeda earlier this year. But Cooper defends the bureau: "Of course it's cynical—do you want us to be buoyant about Washington or the weakhearted resistance of the Democrats?"

Cooper and Frasca's attempts to set up a nightly half-hour newscast, the *Pacifica Report*, brought them into their greatest conflict with the other stations. At year's

start the two announced that they were ready to produce a half-hour daily report, a longtime Pacifica news dream that had been stalled by the five stations' different needs and viewpoints. By May, only KPFA was playing the *Pacifica Report* in its entirety; others were just cutting it up and using parts in their own broadcasts. Houston's KPFT was running NPR news, Washington's WFW, the newest Pacifica station, broadcasts very little news at all.

At a May national board meeting, "we railed against this like you've never heard," Cooper recalls. "We couldn't believe the organization couldn't find the decency and solidarity to air the only national program we have." Others in attendance called Cooper and Frasca's tirade "contemptuous."

That same meeting saw the emergence of the corporate funding issue. Maeda had applied to Gulf and Toyota foundations for grants for news equipment to match those received from the National Telecommunications and Information Agency. Corporate grants for equipment, though not for programming, were permitted under Pacifica's bylaws. But after Frasca objected to the Gulf and Toyota queries, the other news directors joined him, and Maeda, who agreed not to pursue the grants, was reprimanded by a Pacifica board committee. The next month Frasca filed a grievance against Maeda over the issue, and in September—after the Cooper-Frasca firings—the matter found its way back onto the national board agenda, although by that time, most sources agree, corporate funding was a "dead issue."

To Chile.

In the windup, the two firings were more the result of Frasca's and Cooper's last-minute decision to leave their posts and go to Chile in September than any political conflict. Maeda warned Frasca that his precipitous departure would cost him his job, and even Cooper acknowledges he knew Berland might decide to remove him as news director because of the trip.



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Berland, however, didn't demote him on the spot, Cooper notes—a telegram in Chile notified him of the decision.

The ingredient that made the firings part of this unsavory political stew is Peter Franck, whose siding with Frasca, Cooper and Spark opened the rift foundation-wide. Franck has long feuded over administrative responsibilities with Maeda—she filed a grievance earlier this year charging him with interfering with her work. The rivalry has resulted in the abolition of Franck's position as president beginning January 1984, when the Pacifica board plans to consolidate most of the president's powers with the executive director's in a single strengthened position.

Franck is out of the country and can't be reached for comment. But his siding with the Pacifica *desaparecidos*—after backing Spark's firing last year—is widely perceived as an alliance designed to force the national board to reconsider its reorganization plan. Raising the corporate funding issue publicly four months after it was considered settled is uniformly described as an attempt to discredit Maeda. And the investigation and firing of Berland avenged Cooper and Spark, but also demonstrated that Pacifica needs a president who can act to resolve conflict.

Franck is unlikely to succeed in his quest. "This has become a political struggle clothing an attempt for personal vindication," says Ying Lee Kelly, a KPFF boardmember Franck recruited to the national board who has split with him over the Berland firing. "All these people have distorted and disguised these personnel problems as an ideological battle to gain support and coverage. It is unforgivable."

And yet the feuding has an ideological component. The *desaparecidos* fought for a more rigidly defined left line in Pacifica programming, in contrast with the "pluralism" that has marked the stations since Pacifica's founding. But it was their methods more than their politics that brought them into sharpest conflict with

other programmers and management. Now they wage their battle from the outside, with a campaign that has succeeded in eroding listener support and subscriptions at KPFFK. That former employees could wreak such havoc on an institution they once were part of perplexes people like Kelly. "It makes me think of the King Solomon story—you know who the mother is because she's the one who objects to cutting the baby in half." But the methods of the "protracted struggle" against Pacifica, as Spark calls it, are in themselves a measure of the ideological

nature of the conflict.

Inside the station, morale is low and the conflict has even found its way into the union. The local, which has been used by both sides, recently voted out its contract negotiating team partly because two of the three members had recommended, as union representatives, that Franck fire Berland. Members also voted to disaffiliate from District 65 of the United Auto Workers, an affiliation pushed by Cooper and his supporters earlier this year.

Cooper compares the union members to "Chilean shopkeepers who supported

the fascists against Allende." But Jennie Hubbard, the third member of the union's ousted negotiating team, sees it differently. "Now there's no affiliated union, no organized opposition to management in a time of reorganization and possible layoffs. The workers are in a terrible position. But [the Cooper-Spark faction] has polarized everyone. I once supported them. I agreed there needed to be more of a plan at the station. But they've factionalized themselves—it's just a crusade to get rid of Jim Berland."

Canada

Continued from page 7

en some justification for the fears" that he is "warlike" and "cannot be trusted to look for peace." More recently, the prime minister voiced skepticism about the justifications that Washington gave for its invasion of Grenada (which, like Canada, is a member of the British Commonwealth).

These misgivings likely contributed to Trudeau's decision to visit six NATO capitals and the Vatican in early November, though cynics suggest that the trip had more to do with Trudeau's dismal showing in the latest public opinion polls. He declared that he hopes to persuade the five (admitted) nuclear powers to establish "global limits on their strategic nuclear arsenals," to raise the nuclear threshold in Europe and to stabilize East-West relations. In Trudeau's opinion, "The relationship between the superpowers may have become too charged with animosity for East-West relations to be entrusted to them alone."

Most observers have expressed skepticism at Trudeau's chances and the response from Washington was cool. Apparently, Trudeau believes that his efforts will be well-received by the voters back home, and he hopes to take some

steam out of the peace movement at the same time.

But recent polls show a majority of Canadians prefer that Ottawa follow a middle path between the superpowers. Last year, the noted Canadian author George Woodcock wrote: "So far as Canada is concerned, to allow the testing of the Cruise here will mean our identification in the eyes of the world with the most belligerent of U.S. policies."

Canadian peace groups act as the cutting edge of public support for such a

middle path and they are not content to sit around waiting for Trudeau. During United Nations Disarmament week in October, 40,000-60,000 Canadians again took to the streets in protest, not only of Cruise testing here, but of the planned December deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. And as an expression of the growing unity between the peace movements in the U.S. and Canada, "Refuse the Cruise" Canada-U.S. Solidarity Days were scheduled for December 2 and 3.

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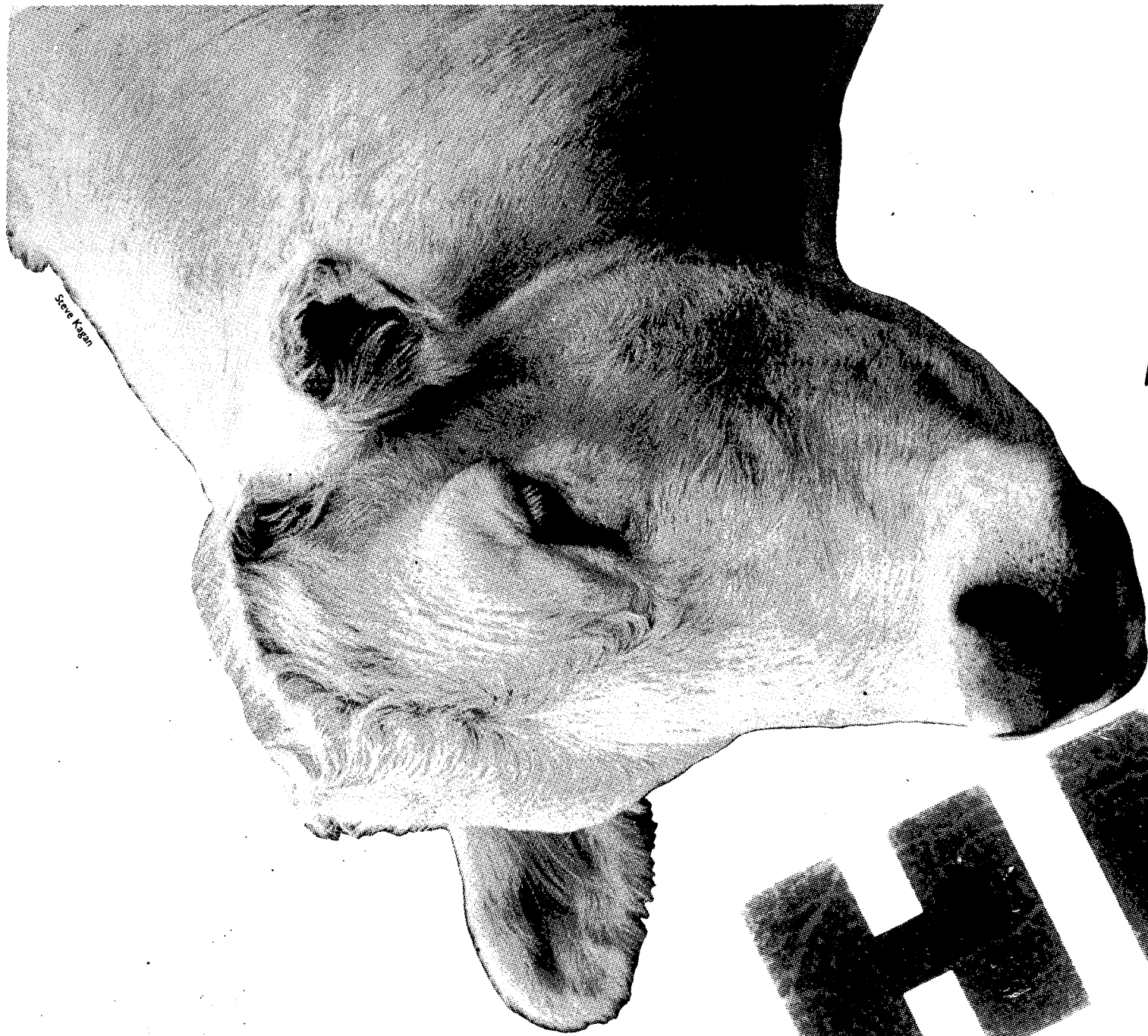
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By John Conroy

HIDE

CHICAGO

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT WILL soon consider the case of the Surak brothers, Vlastimil and Slavomir, the hard-working owners of a tannery situated on a godforsaken block off the Chicago River. The firm is marginal. The case is curious, and rife with seeming contradictions. And the Court's decision may be momentous. The lives of thousands, perhaps millions of workers could be changed as a result.

A tannery, even a good one, is not a pleasant place to work. Skins of dead horses, cows, pigs, goats, deer, walrus, kangaroos, sharks, alligators, water buffalos and ostriches are shipped from slaughterhouses, depending on the product the tannery produces. Before a meat packer ships the skins, workers salt them to prevent them from putrefying. But the raw hides are not deodorized and pieces of the animal's fat and muscle may accompany the hide to the tannery. Earlier civilizations treated hides by soaking them in a watery mixture that sometimes included dog, poultry or pig dung, and therefore tanneries were often located on the downwind side of a village.

Today hides are soaked in a series of chemical solutions; each tannery has its own formulas and may well guard them as a trade secret. The chemicals are strong and potentially hazardous: at Horween Leather, a tannery near the Surak broth-

ers' firm, eight workers were killed and 37 injured on Valentine's Day 1978, when a mistaken combination of chemicals produced a noxious gas. Most of the dead were Mexicans.

The tannery industry in Chicago was dominated by Eastern Europeans before World War II, and by blacks in the '50s. The work is hard and dirty. Nobody's son went into his father's shop, and as each group achieved some education they moved on, leaving the field to more desperate workers. Today's employees are mostly Hispanics.

Vlastimil Surak, born in Czechoslovakia, the son of a tannery worker, went to work in a tannery there at age 13. When he emigrated to the U.S. in the late '40s, he was 21 years old and an old hand in the business. In 1954, he and his brother set up their own small plant that employed up to nine workers. Many were Mexicans and did not speak English. Employee turnover was substantial.

The brothers Surak—now known as John and Steve—worked 12 hours a day, six days a week. They did not always come to easy agreement about how the company should be managed. One confrontation between the two brothers, involving a black employee, Albert Strong, was recorded by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in a 1973 case. "Various dates for this incident are given ranging from 1968 to early 1970," wrote the administrative law judge assigned to the case. "The indictment arose out of a dispute between the partners concerning Strong's work assignment. A composite of the testimony indicates that, upon losing the job assignment argument to his brother, Steve [Slavomir] threw a skin over Strong's head. Strong reacted in an-

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A union vote by the largely Mexican workforce at a Chicago factory led to an Immigration Service raid.

SEEK

August and had asked, in English and Spanish, "You all union?" Rodriguez said he answered on behalf of the group, saying that he knew nothing about the union, and that John Surak, the company's president, called them all "mother fucking son of a bitches" and walked off. Rodriguez attended an NLRB hearing in October and afterward had another confrontation with the boss. Rodriguez testified that while loading chemicals into a container with John, Surak told him that he was "stupid" and that "you and the union are motherfucker son of a bitches." At that point, Rodriguez quit.

Other workers testified that Surak had told his crew that there would be little work if the employees joined the Leather Workers, and a lot of work if they didn't.

On Dec. 10, 1976, the Sure-Tan employees voted. There was one disputed ballot (Albert Strong's—the Suraks argued that he was a supervisor), one vote against the union and six votes for the Leather Workers.

Workers later testified that two hours after the votes were tallied, John said, "Union why? Union why?" "No friends, no amigos," and "Mexican son of a bitch." According to one laborer's testimony, Surak also dropped the word "immigration" and asked if the Mexicans had green cards. One answered that all were working without the proper documents.

The Suraks filed an objection to the election, arguing that the NLRB should not accept the results because 85 percent of the votes for the union were cast by illegal aliens. The NLRB's regional director overruled that objection, believing that the definition of "employee" contained in the National Labor Relations Act did not discriminate on the basis of citizenship. The Suraks received the rejection on Jan. 19, 1977, and the next day tried another approach. In his broken English, the company president, an immigrant himself, wrote a letter to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). "We would like to ask you," John Surak wrote, "to check the emigration [sic] status of several [of] our employees, who are Mexican nationals." The letter listed the names and Social Security numbers of Surak's Mexican employees and ended, "We appreciate your attention to this request as soon as possible."

On Feb. 18, 1977, INS agents obliged. The agents, who were union members themselves (an officer of their local led the raid), did not know why they had been so graciously invited. Surak employees Juan Florez, Francisco Robles, Ernesto Arreguin, Sacramento Serrano and Arguimiro Ruiz were arrested. By nightfall they were on a bus bound for El Paso, traveling at their own expense.

In effect, John Surak deported the majority. The day after the raid, there was no more union at Sure-Tan, Inc.

The recruitment of the Immigration Service as an unwitting co-conspirator is not unusual. "We hear rumors first," says John Garcia, an organizer with the



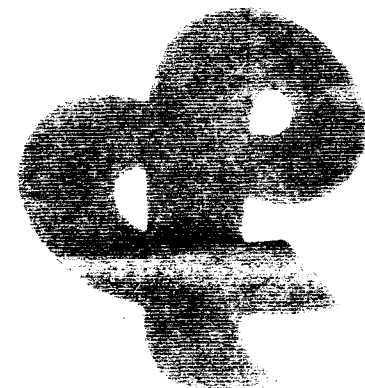
International Ladies Garment Workers Union. "Usually it's a ploy to scare the people. They say, 'You know, you sign up with the union, the Immigration might come.' The threat itself makes people reluctant to sign for the union."

The ILGWU's most recent experience with the phenomenon was the case of Del Rey Tortilleria, a tortilla manufacturer with two plants in Chicago. Rudy Lozano, the ILGWU's Midwest organizer director, began a drive to organize Del Rey in October 1982. A majority of the workers signed cards, and the NLRB scheduled an election for December 23. On December 9, the INS raided both the plants and about 15 employees were arrested. There was no smoking gun as there was in John Surak's letter, but it seemed odd that immigration agents, who had not visited the plant in five years, should show up two weeks before a union election and take workers away from the factory and shift that had given the union the most support.

Similarly, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union recently organized a gyros factory on Chicago's west side. On May 19, about two-thirds of the factory's workers signed union cards. On May 23, the union demanded recognition. Over the next few days, company officials asked workers if they were in the country legally. On May 31, the INS called on the factory and took about 40. Again the union could not prove the company had been responsible for the raid. "They have been employers of illegals for seven or eight years, as I understand it," says Lynn Talbot, the ACT-WU organizer. "And they've never had a raid before."

Kalman Resnick, an attorney who specializes in immigration cases (he was consulted by Sure-Tan's Mexicans when they first suspected that the Suraks planned to go to the INS), believes employers use the INS frequently, and not only to break up a union drive. "It also occurs in other contexts," he says. "For example, take the employers who want to lay off workers. Basically, if they want to reduce their work force quickly, they just call Immigration. Then people are gone and they get out of paying vacation pay and unemployment insurance and other benefits. I think there is a lot of manipulation."

Most employers who take advantage of the INS get away with it because they re-



quest the raids anonymously. The Suraks, however, were snared into the nation's legal machinery because of John Surak's letter.

On Nov. 3, 1977, eight months after the Sure-Tan raid, administrative law judge John Miller ruled that John Surak had violated the National Labor Relations Act, specifically the sections prohibiting threats, coercion and the promise of rewards. Miller cited four examples: the threat of less work if the workers voted for a union and the promise of more work if they voted against it; the threat to call in the Immigration Service; the threat to go out of business; and the interrogation of employees regarding their views before the election.

Miller's most serious and most controversial decision, however, was that John Surak was guilty of firing the five Mexicans. Miller ruled that Surak had known what the outcome of his letter would be, and that although it was the immigration agents who had actually removed the five aliens from the workplace, John Surak was responsible. His action, Miller said, was no different from discharging the five workers for their union activity, which is illegal.

Surak's attorneys argue that the company did not discharge the workers, that the INS did; that it was not the company that caused the workers' exile, but their

Continued on page 22



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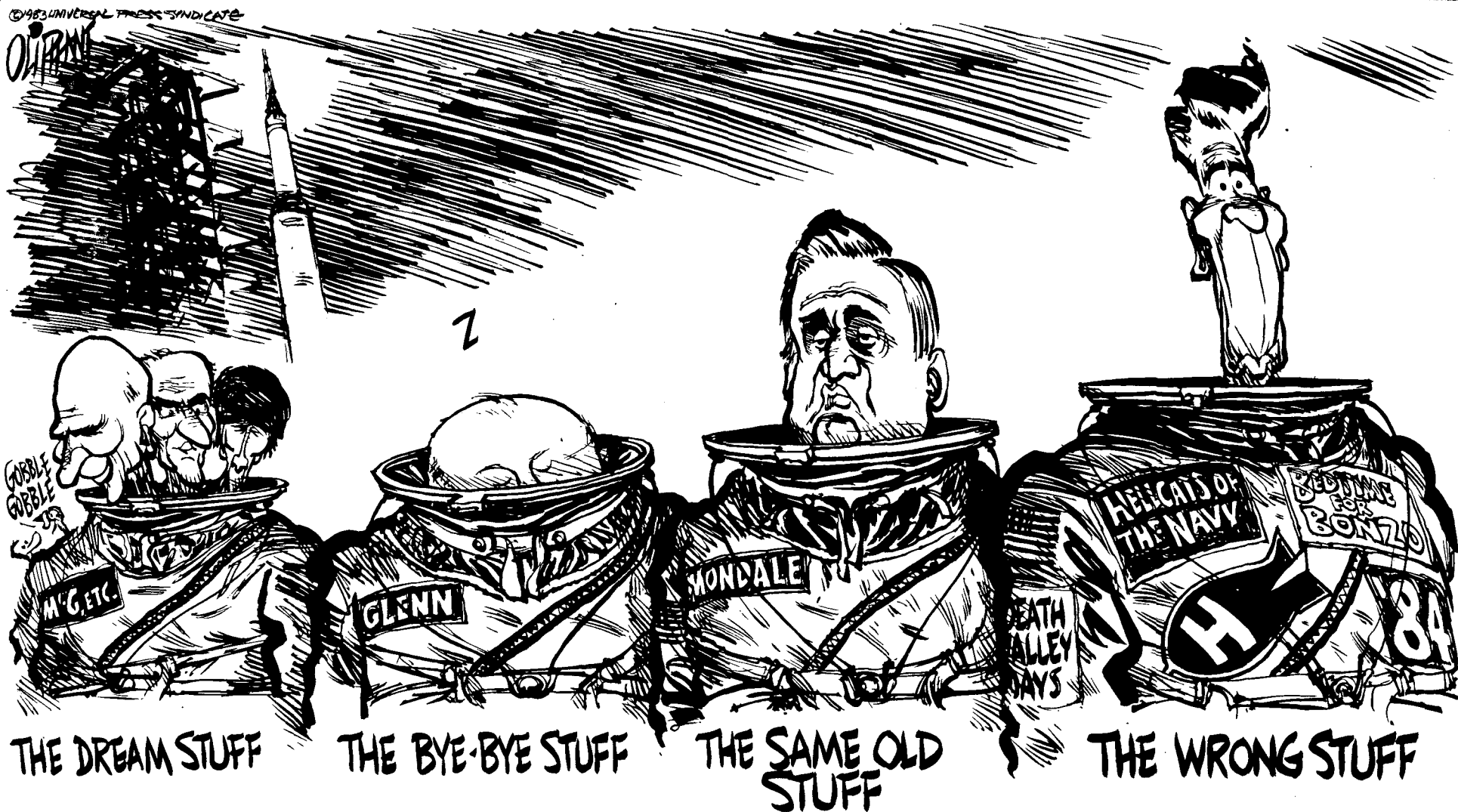
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EDITORIAL



A positive vote will be hard to find in '84

As 1984 looms upon us, the American left faces two compelling tasks. First, the immediate one of defeating Ronald Reagan and helping to create a political climate in which the interests of the vast majority of working Americans can be taken seriously. And second, the longer range but ultimately more vital task of developing alternatives to the increasing militarism and neo-colonialism overseas, and to the long-term economic stagnation and to the decline in living conditions at home that have characterized recent Democratic and Republican administrations.

Although it would be a welcome change for the American people to be able to cast a positive vote for a president committed to their interests rather than those of Corporate America, that is no more likely in 1984 than it was in 1980 or 1976. Instead, we can expect that our next president will be elected because more people voted against his rival than against him.

If this is accurate, then what matters most for the Democrats next year is getting out the largest possible number of people who have reason to oppose Reagan and his policies. That means women, blacks, Hispanics and unionists. It is less important who the nominee is than it is to raise the kind of issues that are likely to move those constituencies to participate in the election.

There are, of course, some significant differences among the leading candidates. Walter Mondale has the endorsement of the AFL-CIO and the National Education Association, and will probably be endorsed by the National Organization for Women. So we can expect that his nomination would generate more enthusiasm and active support than that of the more conservative and military-minded John Glenn, and also that a Mondale administration would be somewhat more pro-feminist and pro-labor. Alan Cranston, who seems to have little chance of success, would have enthusiastic support from environmentalists and freeze advocates.

But despite these and other differences,

none of the major candidates has generated popular enthusiasm, especially among the groups that could be decisive in the 1984 election. And none of them has broken with the underlying principles that have governed both Republican and Democratic presidents since the end of World War II.

In this situation, Jesse Jackson's candidacy has the potential to save the Democrats in 1984. There are two reasons for this: first, Jackson's campaign has the potential of registering one to two million new black voters; second, Jackson is the only candidate raising issues that begin to challenge the principles underlying Democratic-Republican politics of recent years. With him vying for the nomination there is even the possibility that Mondale can be forced to lift his campaign above its present level of torpor. That might even stimulate a little enthusiasm for him among union members.

Of course, for this to work to the benefit of the Democrats, Jackson will have to stick around and help get out the vote after he loses the nomination. Yet there is every reason to expect that he will: it's his ticket to a role in the next administration.

The role of the left.

The socialist left in the United States is like the American electorate of recent years—it knows what it is against, but it does not know what it's for. This condition can be traced back to the leading role on the left played by the Communist Party (CP) in the '30s and '40s and to the character of the New Left in the '60s.

The Communists' vision of socialism was a Soviet America. But CP leaders were smart enough to know the American people would not buy it, so they based their public appeal—which is to say, their real politics—on anti-fascism and pragmatic support for the New Deal and pro-labor Democrats.

The New Left of the '60s became a left by discovering that the dominant political rhetoric about equality and the free world were subterfuges for the protection of privilege and the defense of neo-colonial-

ism. As they made these discoveries they became outspokenly anti-racist and anti-imperialist, but they never got around to working out what they were for—to defining what kind of society would enable us to have the liberty and equality of which this country boasts.

By the early '70s, with both the Communist left and the New Left in shambles, a democratic socialist tendency began to re-emerge as the most vital on a divided and sickly socialist left. First, the New American Movement (NAM) came together as a collection of culturally homogenous local chapters. Then the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) emerged as a kind of Fabian Society for a group of left unions, most notably the Machinists and the UAW. These groups merged into the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) last year, and DSA is now groping for a way to give itself a degree of presence in American political life.

In addition, several more local groupings have come into being, some socialist and some not, and have succeeded in electing people to office. These have included left city administrations like those in Burlington, Vt., and Santa Monica, Santa Cruz and Berkeley, Calif. And it now includes groups like the Citizens' Party, whose presidential candidate Barry Commoner ran a campaign based on socialist principles in 1980, and groups like the Campaign for Economic Democracy in California, whose program is partially consistent with socialist principles.

The strength of these local groupings is that, with the exception of Commoner's campaign, they are all engaged in trying to develop a left politics that can win majority support by trying to get elected in their own right.

The strength of DSA, in theory, is that as a national organization it can address the major issues of American society from a socialist perspective and begin developing a presence in the mainstream of politics. But, in fact, DSA, like its two component predecessors, has not yet moved in the direction of defining a so-

cialist politics for the United States. So far, its socialism is primarily an expression of a marginal left culture. When the trade union left was growing—during the early Carter years—DSOC was able to play a more public role. But even then its role was essentially advisory and supportive, rather than independent and distinct.

Now American socialists are faced with the task of defining a left politics. We must begin to work out what we are for in terms that can make sense to a majority of Americans. But that can never be done if there is not an immediate and pressing need for a practical program consistent with socialist principles.

And that need will exist only when socialists commit themselves to the long-range project of bringing socialist principles into the major political institutions of our society. That, of course, requires electing a group of people to office who will espouse programs based on social need and who can begin to describe a society in which there can really be both liberty and equality.

This is an immense task. It is relatively easy to condemn the operating principles of current major party politics—the defense of corporate profitability and all it has come to mean in domestic and foreign policy. But working out a program based on social need that can work and that can win majority support will require much trial and error in the long process of developing experienced representatives of such a program. Without a sustained commitment to beginning the process of building electoral organizations, coordinated nationally, socialists will have little input into American politics in the years ahead.

And if socialists don't have some consistent input and a growing presence in American politics, then the task of moving away from our political stagnation—from moving back and forth between almost equally repugnant administrations—will go on apace. So will the apathy—in relation to politics—of the American people. ■

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

COLLECTIVE CLARIFICATION

I WANT TO CLARIFY JOHN JUDIS' STATEMENT (*ITT*, Nov. 23) on the Revolutionary Artists Collective at the Nov. 12 march.

As a collective we do not advocate assassination as a political method. We are a performance troupe, not a terrorist group. In the course of my conversation with Judis I spoke of poetry reading for the steel workers and our efforts to provide the oppressed workers of the industrial Northeast with a culture that addresses the fears and problems they are faced with, as opposed to the media, which alienates the dispossessed increasingly.

I went on to tell Judis of Reagan's visit to Pittsburgh last spring; how a crowd of thousands waited for hours in the rain for the president to address the catastrophe his policies have caused in their lives. I spoke of how those people waited in vain for a man who did not have the courage to face the people whose lives he has destroyed with such callous disregard. I said I think Reagan is a vile piece of scum.

I do feel that the president is a tool of corporate fascism, a liar, coward and a war criminal. I expressed those sentiments on my own behalf, not on that of the collective. I also related to Judis that among the people whose lives have been undone by the policies of this government of cutthroat millionaires there is the commonly held opinion that Hinckley should have used a bigger gun. I did not express that as the view of the collective. I do not understand why Judis paraphrased me so totally out of context or why, as I identified myself by name, he attributed his inflammatory remark to the Collective. Perhaps it is a simple mistake. If not, it is some low redbaiting from a surprising source.

We are not punk revolutionaries. Rather, we are a collective of poets, musicians and painters who are attempting to do something worthwhile for the workers. As individuals and artists we are, have been and will remain revolutionaries, but we do not come under the heading of punks, which is a musical form and style of living within which we do not operate. We often perform alongside punk rockers and between us the mutual respect exists that occurs when people struggle toward similar artistic freedoms along different but equally difficult roads. Perhaps this is something Judis knows nothing of.

—Name withheld on request
Pittsburgh, Pa.

KRIEGER LETTERS

LIKE GRACE FLISSER (*ITT*, NOV. 9), I have viewed the recent debate in *ITT*'s pages in response to Nancy Krieger's letters with some concern. While the responses disturb me, I also find them indicative of an important development in the Jewish community: a serious search for new identity in the wake of the growing moral and political decadence of the modern State of Israel.

I thank Flisser for her courageous contributions. Particularly notable is her involvement with the New Jewish Agenda. This organization is the first in recent times to be both self-consciously Jewish and openly opposed to Israeli policies, while having a large measure of community support.

But Flisser seems unaware of certain

historical facts and this colors her reaction to some of Krieger's statements.

First, she states that Zionism was not involved in colonization. Yet, no national movement takes place in mid-air, divorced from the social and political milieu around it, and Zionism least of all.

Without the sponsorship and protection of British imperialism, the plans for Jewish settlement would never have gotten off the ground. Native Palestinians, who had always co-existed peacefully with Jewish inhabitants before the appearance of the Zionist movement, only became restive when the Zionists bought large land parcels from corrupt, absentee landlords and were armed by the British, with the obvious intent of eventually taking Palestine for themselves. The British skillfully manipulated both Jewish and Arab communities, while supporting increased Jewish settlement, against the wishes of the Arab residents. Finally, by 1948, with Britain in decline and unable to keep a lid on the tensions it had helped to create, the Jewish settlers, with American support, were powerful enough to act on their own. By various means, they did push out a large chunk of the Arab population of Palestine, in what David Ben-Gurion called a "marvelous cleansing" of the countryside.

If this is not colonialism "in the usual sense," Zionism is certainly a type of colonialism, if a unique one.

Second, Flisser accuses Krieger of "self-destruction" and of using "anti-Semitic material to create more anti-Semitism." I find this fantastic. While she sees Krieger equating Zionism with Nazism, Krieger only noted that Zionists collaborated with the Nazis. In fact, this did occur. In one such case, prominent leaders of the World Zionist Organization negotiated the Ha'avara or Transfer Agreement with the Nazi government in 1933, which transferred money of German Jews to Palestine while allowing German products to be sold there. In flooding Palestine with German goods, the Ha'avara destroyed the effectiveness of a growing movement among Jews and others in the West to boycott Germany in response to the Nuremberg Laws. This pact provided 60 percent of development capital for Zionist projects in Palestine between 1933 and 1939. Yet this was not the only sad example of collusion between Zionists and fascist elements in Europe between the wars.

Obviously, such things are hard to swallow. But knowledge of the true history of Zionism, unclouded by rhetoric, pseudo-theology or propaganda, will help us all to seek new paths to reconciliation in an age when the Mideast is coveted by the superpowers and the fate of humanity hangs in the balance.

—James Houseworth-Findlay
New York

JEWISH NATIONALISM

GRACE FLISSER'S ATTACK (*ITT*, NOV. 9) on Nancy Krieger's thoughtful, well-researched letter on the Mideast concerns me because Flisser's emotionalism encumbers her objectivity. Flisser defines "Zionism" as "Jewish nationalism," a definition that raises two problems: (1) If Zionism is Jewish nationalism, then is Nazism German nationalism?! Flisser equivocates by defining "Zionism" as "Jewish nationalism" and then condemning Germany for expressing its "nationalism" while failing to acknowledge how Israel has forced

many Palestinians to flee in much the same way as Flisser describes Jews having to flee Germany. (2) Webster's Dictionary defines "Zionism" as "a movement for setting up a Jewish national or religious community in Palestine." Since "community" means "a group of people with a common characteristic living together," Zionism means that all non-Jews (i.e., the Palestinians) must eventually leave, voluntarily or otherwise. Zionism is thus racism, or more precisely, racism is the tool by which the Zionist vision is to be achieved, i.e., through expulsion of all non-Jews (including gentiles as well as Moslem Arabs) because of their races and religions.

Do not be fooled by Flisser's "enlightened Zionism"; the territorial compromise she espouses is simply a euphemism for a place to eventually send the Arabs remaining in Israel so that Israel may some day (when world opinion turns to other topics) achieve a "Jewish national community in Palestine."

—Dino Joseph Drudi
Washington, D.C.

ZIONISM

YOUR INTRANSIGENCE IN REFUSING to respond to my initial critique of your editorial policy on Zionism is matched only by your irresponsibility in printing letters that, as emotional diatribes and personally abusive attacks, either completely distort, misrepresent or villify what I have written. To cite but one example, the most recent letter you printed (*ITT*, Nov. 9) states that I said the Jews were supposed to fight the "Nazi war machine's immigration laws," when in fact what I had written (in an attempt to target anti-Semitism in the U.S. and in Europe) was that "the Zionists essentially abandoned the fight against anti-Semitic immigration laws that existed in virtually all the Western European nations and the U.S."

The main issue, however, continues to be your refusal to state whether or not you refute the Zionist myth that the terms "Zionist" and "Jewish" are identical, and what your position on Zionism is. If *In These Times* is to uphold consistently progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-racist politics, then you must be opposed to both anti-Semitism and Zionism. Apparently, your newspaper is not willing to take such a stand but instead, by proxy, uses the backhanded technique of printing inaccurate and insulting letters to express

your implicitly pro-Zionist stance.

—Nancy Krieger
Seattle, Wash.

Editor's note: Zionist and Jewish are not identical. We do not use the terms interchangeably. Zionism has many meanings. We are not Zionists, but the state of Israel exists and peace and equity in the Mideast will never come about until the right of Israel to exist is recognized by all its neighboring states. We also believe the Palestinians require a state of their own and that a of compromise will be necessary to secure peace.

CHINA WOMEN

THANKS FOR THE PRINTING OF Valerie Miner's well considered article on women writers in China (*ITT*, Nov. 23). I think most people, even on the left, are unaware of any modern literature coming out of China, of which there is a growing amount being published and now distributed in the U.S. For those interested in obtaining the *Women Writers* book or other books from China, a catalogue can be obtained from China Books, 2929 24th St., San Francisco, CA 94110.

As a long-time China-watcher I feel compelled to respond to Miner's comments on the pervasive sexism still in China as well as the prudishness regarding sex and especially homosexuality. I have had similar reactions in my conversations with articulate, intelligent Chinese, including flat denials of the existence of homosexuality in China. Knowing this to be false, both from common sense and verifications from friends who have lived in China and are fluent in the language, one can only accept this narrow-mindedness as natural from a still-new entry into the "modern humanist" world.

The leaps and bounds China has made in economic, educational and health care development since the revolution are still inspiring models for the developing world and its long history of developed culture and science show it to be a people to be watched. Conversely, it still has a lot to learn about the creative energy that can be unleashed with the granting of individual freedoms, both legally and morally.

Like others interested in China's development, I wish they would hurry along, but know they can't.

—Michael Caplan
Chicago

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PERSPECTIVES

John F. Kennedy: a doubtful hero and a baneful model

By Chuck Fager

"I N THE WHITE HOUSE, character and personality are extremely important, because there are no other limitations which govern a man's conduct. Restraint must come from within the presidential soul and prudence from within the presidential mind."

—George Reedy, *The Twilight of the Presidency*

In recent weeks we have been hearing a lot about the character and personality of John Kennedy, on the 20th anniversary of his assassination. Almost a generation after Dallas, the mystique of Camelot and the "Kennedy Style," is still an enduring fixture of our public consciousness, portending a plethora of media attention to this melancholy marker.

Most of the coverage will have the effect of bolstering the myth. There have been debunkers, of course, but their overall impact seems like pigeon droppings on a statue: the features may be discolored, but the image still stands solid and monumental as ever.

Among the revisionist stories against Camelot, the most entertaining has been the gradual revelation of the late president's compulsive satyriasis. These disclosures have now advanced to the point where most of the outlines of this behavior are widely known.

Yet even here, the resiliency of the myth is remarkable. For instance, from one of the most recent of Camelot's hagiographers, the veteran writer Ralph Martin, we learn how on many nights during his tenure the 35th president of the United States prowled through steam tunnels beneath the streets of Manhattan, accompanied by two Secret Service agents bearing flashlights and a map, to various extramarital assignations. For that matter, Martin quotes a White House aide as boasting in Kennedy's presence that their "administration will be known for its screwing the way the Eisenhower administration was known for its golf," only to have the president retort, "You mean 19 holes in one day?"

Martin reports more similarly shabby stuff, but none of it seems to dampen his devotion to the dead president's memory, or stop him from titling his book *A Hero for Our Time*.

A hero? Doubtful. But a model, unmistakably yes—in more ways than one. And a baneful one. Some of the most thoughtful and penetrating writers of our day have shown the self-destructive character of the Kennedy style and leadership, which reached its bloody nadir in Vietnam. David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest* pointed this up perhaps most brilliantly and irrefutably. Others, including Garry Wills in *The Kennedy Imprisonment*, have also made the connection between this character and the protagonist's obsessive machismo.

But what has not, I think, been drawn out as clearly is the effect this leadership style, and the personal deportment it fostered, had elsewhere in American society of the '60s.

In the wake of Camelot similar patterns could be found operating even in the civil rights movement and New Left, which offered the main challenge to the policies of Kennedy and his successors. That well-known fact had much to do with the decline of both groupings and the emergence from them of the late '60s women's movement. This story has been told in detail by numerous feminist writers. What I want to add to this is the thesis that JFK's example was an important influence on this radical male chauvinism, reinforcing it and making it harder for the men in these movements to face up both to the reality and weight of women's oppression and to women's growing resistance to it.

The Kennedy macho effect was clearest, and I believe most insidious, at the top. After all, as Ralph Martin reports, even at the time what was going on "was not a Washington secret," at least not for insiders and many reporters. Furthermore, as upwardly mobile members of an excluded social group, many in the civil rights elite were clearly impressed by the Kennedys' pretensions to an anglophilic aristocratic style, of which, apparently, unlimited sexual conquests were among the major perks.

But along with these conquests, naturally, went almost open contempt for women. As Martin records, when the president was once asked by a woman if he ever discussed politics with Jackie, he snapped back, "What are you, one of those feminists?" A female reporter, looking back, told Martin the president "had his father's attitude toward women—there was only one place for women, and that was horizontal." George Smathers, who had served with Kennedy in Congress, added in apparent admiration that "no one was off limits to Jack—not your wife, your mother, your sister. If he wanted a woman, he'd take her."

The need to maintain appearances, however, made it necessary to wrap the president's actual conduct in a thick layer of hypocrisy and manipulation. Garry Wills reflects that "Kennedy's womanizing...led him to take political and personal risks...risks even his father and broth-

Kennedy's style, so much admired by his followers, encouraged the habit of arrogant duplicity.

ers thought foolhardy. It would in time enmesh most of his entourage in a complex set of lies and cover-ups. And it seems never to have abated." The notorious Judith Campbell episode, in which the president was dallying with a woman who was also the mistress of a reputed mobster—who was in his turn being courted by the CIA to join in their luckless campaigns to kill Fidel Castro—shows just how reckless John Kennedy could be.

Only a limited number of insiders and retainers could be permitted to know what sort of things were really going on in the White House on all those nights Jacqueline was away. Thus was reinforced the habit of arrogant duplicity by which "the best and brightest" expected to run the nation and the world, for its own good, without having to own up to their personal agendas or methods, and while breaking public rules in pursuit of their own private lusts. This attitude ultimately led to disaster in Southeast Asia, and rebellion at home by blacks and many white students.

But these domestic rebels, at least many of the males, while rejecting many administration policies, had a harder time overcoming its fixation on its style. The internal dynamics of the New Left and civil rights movements, during and after the Kennedy administration, displayed an almost eerily contrapuntal set of stylistic parallels with life inside Camelot: the sexual predation by leading males, their persistent tendency toward manipulation of "participatory democracy" for covert, elite ends; the cumulative load of hypocrisy that went along with concealing both these traits; and, not least, the derisive laughter and scorn with which they hooted down the many early attempts by women to raise feminist concerns within movement groups.

One thinks, for instance, of Stokely Carmichael's comment on a 1964 statement by women staffers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

protesting the fact that even the toughest and most experienced among them (and there were many such women in SNCC) were expected to concentrate on routine office work and to defer to less experienced male staff. Carmichael's response was that the "only" position for women in SNCC was "prone." This wisecrack evoked gales of laughter. No wonder that a SNCC woman volunteer later commented, "The attitude around here toward keeping the house neat is disgusting and also terribly depressing. I never saw a cooperative enterprise that was less cooperative."

One thinks also of the resentments nursed by SNCC staff in general against King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They charged SCLC with being manipulative and elitist in their operations in black communities. By 1966, this resentment issued in an open break over SNCC's adoption of Black Power as its guiding slogan.

Although King's style had worked well in some campaigns, notably in Birmingham in 1963 and Selma in 1965, there was much truth in the SNCC charges. Indeed, King and his circle may offer the classic set of parallels with the Camelot style among the movement groups of those years. (At least, thanks to the FBI's ubiquitous wiretaps, it is among the best documented.) There were similar pretensions to a genteel lifestyle; a tight inner circle of advisers and intimates who, with King, made decisions and deals for their constituency behind closed doors; and a pattern of sexual indulgence widely at variance with their public identity as ministers.

I don't want to push these parallels too far. Still, the connection was there: it was from one of King's inner circle that, as a junior civil rights worker, I first heard of JFK's adventurism (I didn't believe it right away); and the telling came in the context of rationalizing the similar behavior of some of King's men.

The same patterns obtained in much of the New Left. In her book *Personal Politics*, Sara Evans found that the dominant male leaders of SDS "brought to the movement the aggressiveness and competitiveness they might have been expected to exercise as successful professionals. They struggled among themselves for leadership, dominated meetings with their verbal abilities, actively sought positions of authority and, in addition, adopted the aggressive characteristics of those they sought to organize.... And a major arena for male self-assertion proved again to be sexual conquest.... Some of the men were known for bringing one girlfriend after another into the projects. Women were aware that when they became involved with a man in the inner circles, they were privy to many conversations and decisions central to the project's development. Thus at times a woman's status could rise or fall according to the changes in her sex life."

This kind of movement machismo helped lay the groundwork for the street-gang terrorism that was Weatherman, and the associated sectarianism that tore SDS to pieces by 1969; along the way, it made SDS and many other movement groups such unpleasant and alienating places to be that their membership began to evaporate, if not by burnout or dropouts, then simply by turning off. And not least, it also guaranteed that the ultimately irrepressible feminist resurgence would, when it finally burst forth, begin as a hostile phenomenon, further hastening the New Left's demise, instead of being one of its most important and creative outcomes.

All of which adds up to a big caveat to the apotheosis of Camelot and its martyred leader, namely that for Americans who care about change that will enhance human freedom, social justice and the prospects for peace, the character and personality of the man who occupied the White House from 1961 to 1963 were not only important inside its fences, but outside them as well. Camelot has truly cast a long shadow over our recent history; and much of its umbra is dark indeed. ■ *Chuck Fager writes for several alternative newspapers.*

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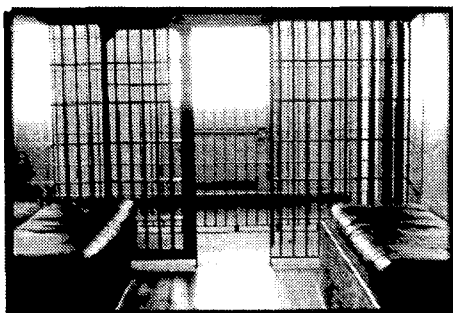
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November

6 1945—HUAC begins an investigation of seven radio commentators. HUAC spokesperson: "The time has come to determine how far you can go with free speech."

1968—At an RMN victory party, advance man J. Roy Goodearle: "Why don't we get all the members of the press and beat them up? I'm tired of being nice to them."

1976—Disclosure of Operation Shamrock: since 1947, RCA Global, ITT World and Western Union International have made international telegraph traffic available to the NSA.

By Nicholas A. Patricca

PERSPECTIVES

The two churches in Nicaragua

ON SEPTEMBER 9, 1978, AT the invitation of the Catholic grassroots communities of Esteli, Nicaragua, 22 *muchachos* of the FSLN entered that city to help these communities defend themselves against the indiscriminate attacks of Somoza's national guard.

On September 23, 14 days later, 9,600 Catholics-in-arms, under the leadership of these 22 *muchachos*, left Esteli for the mountains to fight Somoza until they had defeated him, or until they had died.

These Catholics joined the fight against Somoza because of their faith, because of their understanding of the Gospel and of their Christian duty. This event marked the beginning of the official collaboration between the Catholic grassroots communities (*comunidades de base*) and the FSLN, or the Sandinistas. During the summer and fall of 1978, the Catholic base communities throughout the four major departments of Nicaragua joined the fight against Somoza. Less than one year later, on July 19, 1979, Somoza's government collapsed and Somoza fled Nicaragua. Some say that the Catholic base communities provided the popular support and organization that finally and quickly defeated Somoza.

Today, in Esteli, the Catholic base communities effectively govern and protect that city and province. In the other departments of Nicaragua this overlapping of church and government structures is not so dramatic, but is nonetheless extensive, especially since the FSLN adopted key elements of the Catholic base community system and since the actual leaders of these organizations are frequently the same people.

This Catholic participation in the insurrection against Somoza and in the reconstruction of Nicaragua is unique. Many Catholic clergy and religious vigorously support the FSLN and its programs. Nuns and priests as well as Catholic lay people occupy official positions in the Sandinista government and political organizations. Fernando Cardenal, a Jesuit, is an official political theorist for the Sandinista party; and his brother, Ernesto Cardenal, a Franciscan, is the minister of culture in the government. This involvement of priests and nuns in politics adds a new and powerful force to the process of social change and revolution in Latin America.

At first, this Catholic collaboration with the FSLN was condoned by the Nicaraguan hierarchy. In their pastoral letter of November 1979, the bishops of Nicaragua wrote:

"If socialism means power exercised from the perspective of the vast majority and power shared increasingly by the people and their organizations, in a way that produces a true transference of power to the masses, then socialism will encounter in the Catholic faith only motivation and support."

The Catholic Church as a whole enthusiastically supported the government's literacy campaign, which was initiated and directed by Fernando Cardenal and implemented in large part by Catholic lay and religious leaders. By February 1982, however, as the FSLN became more manifestly Marxist in their eyes, the bishops of Nicaragua, under the leadership of Obando y Bravo, the Archbishop of Managua, began to distance themselves from the Sandinistas. On February 18, they issued a stinging attack on the government's handling of the Miskito Indians on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. Since that date, the Catholics of Nicaragua have steadily polarized into two camps: those who still staunchly support the Sandinistas and those who seek their overthrow, either actively or wistfully.

During the Pope's visit to Nicaragua in March of this year, open hostility broke out between these two opposed camps. While John Paul II tried to deliver his address to the Nicaraguan people, the one side chanted "Obando y Bravo" and the

other side chanted "Between revolution and faith, there is no contradiction." Television beamed to the world the picture (worth a thousand words) of an angry Pope wagging his finger at Ernesto Cardenal as he knelt to receive the papal blessing.

The Pope's visit was a great disappointment to the members of the base communities and to the poor in general who had hoped for the Pope's recognition of their great suffering and sacrifice for the welfare of their communities. As one articulate woman, a lay leader of a base community in a colonia of Managua, said to me: "We did not expect him to support the Sandinistas because that is politics; but we did expect him to support us, the poor, to recognize our sufferings and to express solidarity with our struggle." Another woman from another barrio said: "I just wanted him to pray for my sons and daughters." She had lost 17 members of her family in the fight against Somoza. Instead, John Paul II chose to lecture the poor of Nicaragua on the necessity of obedience to their bishops.

The Church today.

Today in Nicaragua, the Church is divided against itself. The bishops and their followers accuse the base communities of being either Communist dupes or schismatic churches (popular churches). The base communities and revolutionary Catholics accuse the bishops of playing politics and of abandoning their religious and historic duty to serve the poor.

In opposition to their bishops, the revolutionary Catholics set the example of Oscar Romero, the martyred Archbishop of El Salvador, who taught that the duty of the Church is to serve the poor and those who serve the poor, and that the duty of the poor is to determine their own political agenda in their own way according to their own lights.

Those Catholics opposed to the revolution are promoting charismatic spiritualities that emphasize personal salvation rather than the communal salvation of liberation theology. They are also promoting traditional Marian devotions such as the rosary and the novena against the biblical spirituality of the base communities. Liberation theologians, associated with the *Centro Antonio Valdivieso* (an ecumenical theological institute in Managua), have been attempting to counter these strategies by showing the revolutionary origins and potential of the rosary and of Marian piety in general. They published two highly successful pamphlets on the history and meaning of the rosary and on the images of Mary throughout history. More than 100,000 copies of these pamphlets have been sold. The pamphlets root Marian devotions in their historical contexts and in the scriptures, especially in the *Magnificat*, a powerful and beautiful statement of liberation thought.

The Sandinistas have taken the official stand that this war between the bishops and the base communities is internal to the Catholic Church and, as such, of no concern to them or to the government of Nicaragua.

War against the Bible.

The *Contras* who invade Nicaragua from their sanctuaries in Honduras wear large rosaries around their necks. They kill anyone who they find carrying a Bible on their person or having a Bible among their possessions. It is a tragic irony that the Bible has become a symbol of the revolution and of the anti-Christ. Twenty-

four hours a day, seven days a week, *Contra* radio transmitters (set up with U.S. funds) broadcast to the *campesinos* and Indians who live along the Honduran border propaganda that the Sandinistas are atheistic Communists and that the delegates of the Word, Catholic lay catechists, are Communist agents. In Esteli, where the *Contras* are active, a perplexed citizenry protests: "They say we are Communists. But we are Catholics!" The priests and nuns who work in the border areas estimate that the *Contras* have persuaded almost half of the people there that the Sandinistas are godless demons. To counter the effectiveness of this propaganda, the base communities of Esteli are sending teams of Catholics to live with the peasants and Indians along the

been totalitarian, hostile to religion and intolerant of the diverse spiritualities of the various cultural groups under its domination. John Paul II's experience with Communism in Poland has conditioned his perception of and response to the Marxism of the Nicaraguan revolution. Influenced by Cardinal Trujillo and other like-minded bishops of Latin America, the Pope has decided to make his stand here in Nicaragua against the rising possibility of a Catholic/Marxist revolutionary alliance, which could spread like wildfire throughout Latin America.

Against the liberation theologians who argue that the Marxism of the Nicaraguan revolution is its own kind of Marxism belonging to its own people and having its own history, the Pope has sided with those who argue that, in the long run, Nicaraguan Marxism will show its true totalitarian colors and seek to destroy the Church. Today in Nicaragua, there is freedom of religion and respect for religion. A genuine cooperation exists between Marxist Sandinistas and revolutionary Catholics, a cooperation based on a profound coincidence of principles and objectives. If the Nicaraguans are left alone, free to decide their own fate, they would likely create an open and tolerant, Catholic and Marxist revolutionary society dedicated to the advancement of the cause of the poor. Nicaragua is tragically caught, however, in a global

Contras who invade from Honduras wear large rosaries around their necks. They kill anyone they find carrying a Bible. The tragic irony is that the Bible now symbolizes revolution and the anti-Christ.

border. Their sole mission is to show with their lives that one can be both Catholic and pro-revolution. These Catholics are the special objects of *Contra* guerrilla activities. As their numbers increase, so do the numbers of deaths.

The poor who remain loyal both to the Church and to the revolution are genuinely bewildered by the behavior of their bishops and of John Paul II. Their many years of participation in base community structures has accustomed them to dialogical processes and to concepts of self-determination. They are a proud people who are accustomed to making tough, life-and-death decisions on a daily basis. They find it hard to understand why the Church hierarchy cannot trust them with their own revolution.

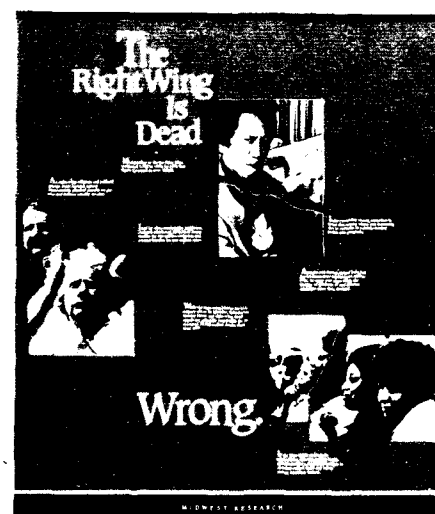
Historically, Marxism, as practiced in the Soviet Union and its satellites, has

conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and between the Vatican and Soviet Communism. The Nicaraguans are a gutsy people, but whether they can long withstand the enormous power of these external forces seeking to control their revolution remains to be seen.

Nicaragua is a very small country and its people are poor. It has the population of the city of Chicago, the land area of the state of Wisconsin and the GNP of upper Michigan Avenue. Yet, a world drama is unfolding on its soil, a bloody drama that touches our own lives. Contrary to what the Sandinistas officially maintain, they know this religious war taking place in their country is an essential part of their revolution and might very well determine its fate.

Nicholas A. Patricca teaches at Mundelein College, Chicago.

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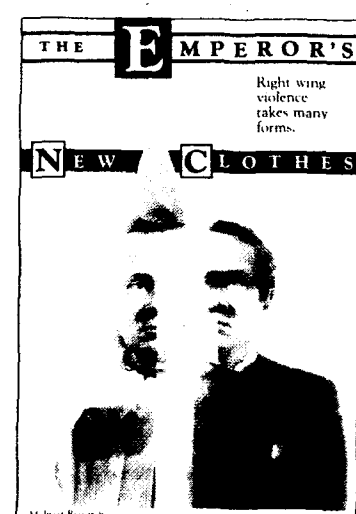


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INPRINT

SOVIET UNION



Bear claws: how sharp?

The Threat: Inside the Soviet Military Machine
By Andrew Cockburn
Random House, 338 pp., \$16.95

Dangerous Relations: The Soviet Union in World Politics, 1970-1982
By Adam B. Ulam
Oxford University Press, 325 pp., \$25

By Louis Menashe

From the start of his presidency Ronald Reagan has been pressing the alarm button marked "the Soviet Threat." He told the American people that the Soviet Union "reserves the right to commit any crime" in order to further its designs. At a news conference in March, 1982, he announced that the USSR has "a definite margin of superiority" over the U.S. in strategic nuclear weapons, "a great edge...in which they could absorb our retaliatory blow and hit us again." Later he installed Darth Vader at the Politburo and dubbed the USSR an "evil empire."

Now if both sets of assertions are accurate—that there are no moral restraints on Soviet power, and that a "window of vulnerability" exists through which that power could destroy the U.S.—a simple question asks itself: Why hasn't the Soviet Union already attacked us?

Perhaps no such "window" exists? Or: The Soviet Union doesn't know about it? Or per-

haps Soviet malevolence is not as absolute as the president thinks?

The answers to such questions hinge on perceptions of Soviet military capability, past behavior and geo-political intentions. No one has ever successfully identified the "sources of Soviet conduct," to cite the title of George Kennan's classic essay of 1947, which guided U.S. foreign policy for decades and suggested to Washington the supposed principle of Soviet expansionism. But equally axiomatic was the U.S. policy of containment. The result is history: a permanent Cold War, sweetened occasionally by brief spells of dialog and detente, but then always back to square one with confrontation and ever more gargantuan military establishments on both sides.

Even Kennan himself has now repudiated at least the commonly held assumptions about the need to contain Soviet power by military means—one sign of just how murky and difficult is the matter of defining the sources of Soviet behavior and drawing the appropriate policy conclusions. Sources aside, what about Soviet behavior itself? Alone, the raw data do not tell us much.

Take, for example, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. At the time of the intervention, the Carter-Brzezinski administration reacted with outrage and suggested the action was a major aggressive thrust toward the Persian Gulf with ultimate designs on our

petroleum sources. Moscow defended its action as a benign and limited response to a fraternal socialist regime's request for assistance. Each side affected the posture of Snow White.

Is there any way of cutting through the rhetorical and mythic camouflage on both sides? Two disparate sources offer some help. One, Adam B. Ulam, surveys Soviet international behavior over the last dozen years in his book *Dangerous Relations*; the other, Andrew Cockburn, examines Soviet military capabilities in *The Threat*. From two very different vantage points they yield surprisingly compatible results.

Ulam is a prolific Harvard scholar of Russian history and Soviet politics just unconventional enough to keep him off the road that leads from Russian research centers to Washington—a channel that has brought men like Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Richard Pipes and Richard Allen to power. Cockburn is a left-wing journalist specializing in defense issues.

Ulam belongs to the hard-boiled school of foreign policy analysis. He has a jaundiced view of ideological pretensions on both sides and is particularly critical of the moralism and zig-zags that have characterized U.S. policy in recent years. By contrast, the USSR, in his view, is consistently cynical in the pursuit of national interests and poses a great global challenge to the U.S. on

matters of prestige, influence and patronage.

At the same time, however, the USSR intends no military confrontation with the U.S. and the West, and certainly has no grand design for Communist world conquest. Its commitment to detente, says Ulam, is genuine. He accepts at face value an official Soviet statement of 1973 affirming that "the policy of peaceful coexistence is not a tactical maneuver, but a basic necessity, for in our days it has become the only alternative to a thermonuclear catastrophe."

Since 1973, what with domestic political turmoil in the U.S. over Watergate, the end of the American presence in Indochina and Iran, the collapse of the Portuguese empire in Africa and perpetual instability in the Mideast and the Horn of Africa, Soviet policymakers were presented with opportunities they could not resist. During the same period, what many saw as an ominous Soviet military buildup in conventional and nuclear weapons continued, culminating in the placement of SS-20s in European Russia. Detente, a fragile arrangement at best, could not survive this whole drift. From the U.S. point of view, detente had been a cover for Soviet "expansionism" and was yielding unequal benefits to Moscow. Afghanistan was the last straw.

Ulam knows that Moscow has neither clean hands nor a pure heart. But he sees a pattern in which Western failures are Soviet opportunities. Moscow will support an anti-Communist regime as easily as a Marxist-Leninist one. (I would add that Moscow

perhaps even prefers the lesser complications of dealing with a non-Communist regime.) Soviet foreign policy may be pragmatic and generally prudent, but, as with any great power, a certain momentum to throw one's weight around becomes uncontrollable.

As for the military buildup: in its earlier phases during the '60s, Ulam sees the primary motivation as fear of a nuclear-armed China—a constant preoccupation of the USSR and something too little recognized in the West. (In fact, the SS-20s were designed as early as 1967.)

The Afghanistan problem.

The Soviet military presence in Afghanistan is a different problem. Afghanistan is a country bordering the USSR with a long history of close relations to Moscow. There is no evidence of Soviet meddling in the coup of April 1978 that brought the Marxist-Leninist Taraki to power; it was purely an internal affair. When a successor regime alienated large sections of the population, especially in the countryside, Moscow used force to back what Ulam sees as a constant in Soviet foreign policy. "Since World War II," he writes, "the USSR had never permitted a Communist regime it had fully endorsed and supported to be overthrown by its own people."

On the other hand, Afghanistan is not Poland or Hungary or Czechoslovakia. Before greater costs in blood and devastation occur, some political solution allowing for the graceful exit of Soviet troops is not inconceivable. Ulam's survey of Soviet behavior helpfully suggests precedents. In 1946 in Iran and in 1955 in Austria the USSR demonstrated a political realism and flexibility by pulling out its troops.

Soviet troops in Afghanistan have been anything but graceful in combatting a determined popular resistance, according to Cockburn. Hard and soft drugs are much in evidence. (Soviet soldiers are reportedly willing to trade weapons to obtain them.) Losses of the Mi-24 "Hind" helicopter-gunship, which is underpowered and clumsy, have been very high. The Soviet divisions originally came in brandishing anti-aircraft guns and SAMs (surface-to-air missiles) that were useless against guerrillas with no air force. But these weapons became very useful to the rebels who stole or captured them. And of course there are the latest Soviet tanks, machines that gleam menacingly on the pages of Pentagon brochures describing the Soviet threat. In combat conditions they are something less than formidable, as several Arab-Israeli wars have demonstrated.

In general, Cockburn argues, the Soviet operation in Afghanistan has been marked by an inability to adapt to new circumstances. Things that look great on paper bog down in practice. And not just in Afghanistan. The Czech invasion of 1968 and the mobilization along Polish frontiers in late 1980 both revealed serious deficiencies in command, coordination and troop morale. Cockburn points out that the mobilization in the Polish case even led to a major purge of Soviet officers.

So much for one of the great, nightmarish images of the

modern era: Soviet armed forces sweeping efficiently with lightning speed across the plains of central and western Europe to the English Channel. Since superiority of Soviet conventional forces was and continues to be taken as a given, the West has responded with a nuclear-tipped counterforce. (Incidentally, Cockburn argues persuasively that even in conventional terms NATO forces are more than a match for the Warsaw Pact.)

In a lively and solidly documented piece of writing, Cockburn debunks the current hysteria about Soviet defenses. By interviewing emigres who have served in the Soviet military, speaking to American soldiers who use Soviet hardware in simulated war games, checking reports of Soviet men and materiel in action, and by salting his intelligence with some common sense, Cockburn gives us a better picture of Soviet military capabilities than the scary, consistently inflated portraits coming out of Washington. The claws and jaws of the Russian bear are not quite so sharp.

There are no lack of sources close to or inside government, Congress and the Pentagon who agree with Cockburn's analysis; some provided him with valuable information and insights. (For example, on why most Soviet missiles are liquid fueled, Dr. John Kincaid, who designed most of the basic rocket engine systems used by the U.S. Navy, told Cockburn: "No one would mess around with liquids if they didn't have to. The reason the Russians do it is because they are so god-dam backward.")

But the sad truth is probably that Cockburn's findings can have little impact on ingrained attitudes of hostility to the USSR, not to mention the self-perpetuating budgetary appetites of the Defense establishment. The most recent encounter of the Israelis with Soviet weapons during the Lebanon campaign is instructive. The Israelis mauled Soviet MIGs, SAMs and tanks. Did this cause reconsiderations of the Soviet military threat? *Au contraire*: U.S. military analysts used the results to rationalize continued military vigilance.

The Russians, I suspect, don't like Cockburn's book very much. Inflating the Soviet threat is part of Moscow's strategy too; it is called deterrence. Faced with superior military capacities the Russians have to put up at least a facade of parity in order to preserve a sense of the balance of power.

This element of bluff accounts for a lot of Soviet obsessiveness with secrecy: they try to hide not what they have, but what they don't have. Bluffs, says Ulam, was at the heart of Moscow's foreign policy strategies in the early days of the Cold War. The view that the USSR was a formidable military threat after World War II was exaggerated; it had just suffered a trauma of colossal proportions. Yet to admit this would have been a sign of weakness. "The only way to offset the crushing American superiority," writes Ulam, "was to act as if it did not exist."

These days the psychology of Soviet omnipotence is enhanced by what is usually described in State Department talks as "the projection of Soviet power" in

such locales as Africa, Southeast Asia, the Mideast and the Caribbean. Recently, the USSR demonstrated its deadly power over Southern Sakhalin. The downing of Korean Airlines flight 007 and the aftermath was a case study in the grizzly pirouettes of the Cold War. Both Moscow and Washington reacted according to script.

No one with any knowledge or experience of flying in that part of the world doubts that the Korean 747 jetliner was engaged in something fishy. Still, it is hard to believe the Soviets would have shot it down knowing it was a civilian passenger jet. Even Washington now acknowledges—after originally milking the argument that the Soviets acted in cold blood—that the Soviet command did not know it had shot down a civilian aircraft. But for Moscow to admit this would have reflected badly on its air defense system: after two and a half hours in Soviet airspace they couldn't identify a Boeing 747? (Cockburn, in addition to recounting the incident in 1978 when a Korean 707 passenger plane flew deep into Soviet territory unintercepted, reveals the lesser known episode in the same year when "a light plane from Finland was able to land outside Leningrad, tarry on the ground for a period of time, and take off again without any molestation from SAMs or fighter planes.")

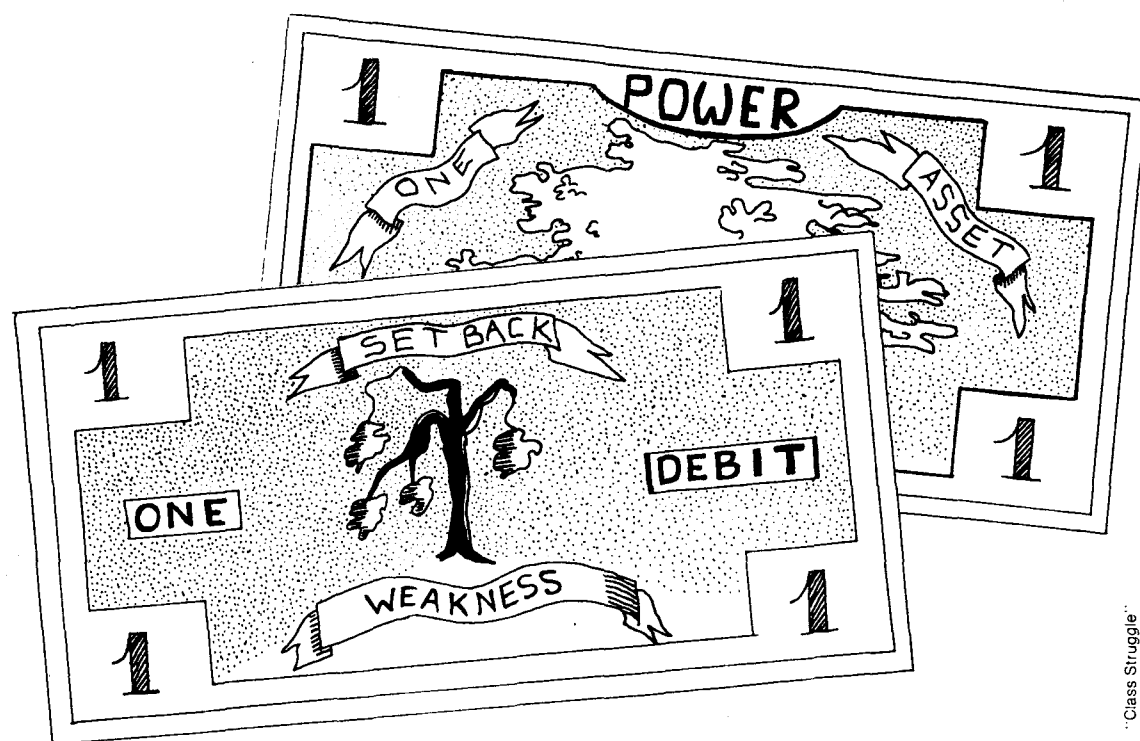
After some thinly disguised evasions, Moscow chose, in the form of an unprecedented news conference by Marshall Ogarkov, to assert that the Soviet air defense arm knew all along what it was doing, and to issue the slightly hollow warning that Soviet frontiers are inviolable. Washington, privately aware of Soviet defense weaknesses, chose to publicly ignite latent animosities and fears toward the USSR. It is an old pattern: Soviet clumsiness and bluff, followed by U.S. manipulation of "the Threat."

In the end, in a world of "dangerous relations," of threats real and inflated, there is no substitute for cool heads, for mutual tolerance and trust, for talk and diplomacy. The arms race is self-defeating for both sides; it boomerangs with ill effects on the health of each society. In the worst case, it threatens the life of our planet.

More than three decades ago George Kennan helped fashion the spectre of the Soviet threat; today, prompted by a sense of great danger, he calls for lowered voices. "For all the historical and ideological differences," he wrote in the *New Yorker*, "these two peoples—the Russians and the Americans...can do more than any two powers to assure world peace. The rest of the world needs their forbearance with each other and their peaceful collaboration. Their allies need it. They themselves need it. They can have it if they want it."

With less eloquence, Nikita Khrushchev once expressed roughly similar sentiments to Sen. J.W. Fulbright. "He pointed to a mole on his face," recalled Fulbright. "I may not like this mole, but I've learned to live with it."

Louis Menashe teaches Russian and Soviet history at the Polytechnic Institute of New York and writes regularly on Soviet affairs for *In These Times*.



BUSINESS

Marx and markets: how you play the game

Class Struggle Is the Name of the Game

By Bertell Ollman
William Morrow and Co.,
288 pp., \$12.95

By Bruce Kaplan

You may remember the board game *Class Struggle* that enjoyed a little notoriety in the late '70s. Its cover showed Nelson Rockefeller and Karl Marx arm wrestling. The inventor of the game was a Marxist political scientist at New York University named Bertell Ollman, who has now written a book about his experiences.

As a book about business, particularly small business, the story told here is significant only for its ordinariness. Somebody or several people have a good idea, some talent and a willingness to work hard and take risks. So they start a business, but suffer from underfinancing and inexperience. Poor decisions, mostly based on lack of information and expertise, are made and the business runs into financial trouble while the owners suffer personal anxieties and problems. Eventually a few more dreams will probably be added to the dustheap of history.

Ollman had the idea of a game based on Marxist theory. He had a flair for public relations, but seemed to have had almost a total lack of information about the game business. He and his investors appear to have made little effort to find out how other companies produced and mar-

keted games. They made a very bad decision about how many games to order—almost bankrupting themselves—but were lucky enough to find a buyer for their business (a manufacturer of battlefield and war simulation games) and came out all right.

The most interesting parts of the book are those that deal with the public relations aspect of the experience, particularly the way the media makes a celebrity out of anything it gets its hands on. Concepts of class and social groups are almost never conveyed in the mass media—partly because those who control the media believe they won't sell, partly because they fear such concepts and certainly because they don't really grasp or understand them. Although *Class Struggle* received a tremendous amount of publicity, the end result of it was conversations like one overheard at a trade show where *Class Struggle's* booth displayed a large portrait of Marx:

"Who's that?"

"Karl Marx."

"What's he doing here?"

"He's coming to autograph his game, *Class Struggle*."

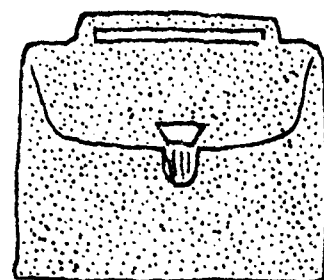
The problem of how to communicate a notion totally antithetical to the pervasive star ideology of the media (an ideology that is the essence of the media) is a huge one, and the adventures of Ollman and *Class Struggle* illustrate it vividly.

Entrepreneurs and the left.

The book is much less successful in providing any kind of left perspective on the role of entrepreneurship and small and independent business in our society and economy. Small business is virtually ignored, other than for a *pro forma* acknowledgement as a good thing, in much liberal and neo-liberal thought. And leftists often skip even the *pro forma* part.

Although it is true that under 1 percent of U.S. businesses control about three-quarters of the assets, the rest still provide most of the new and established jobs and are potential allies of an anti-corporate movement (as long as it is not perceived as hostile to their interests).

The small business entrepren-



neur, particularly in the early years of the business (most never get beyond the early years) is often the poorest paid per hour of all the people associated with the enterprise—hardly the image of a capitalist. Ollman is aware of this and includes a fair amount of somewhat self-righteous, but mostly good-humored, polemicizing about the contradictory emotions generation by the socially conscious entrepreneur's roles and about the personal costs to the businessperson of what Ollman (exaggeratedly, I think) perceives to be the ruthless behavior demanded by the marketplace. But he doesn't really deal with these matters at length, which his experience and background would uniquely qualify him for.

Basically, *Class Struggle* is an amusing account, with a few serious asides, of some people blundering their way through a series of situations they never expected to find themselves in. Anyone who has had connections with the business/financial end of left or counter-cultural affairs will find it diverting.

Bruce Kaplan, founder and president of Flying Fish Records, has engaged in other small business ventures—including SCAM, a board game where players play at smuggling and trading marijuana.



CHANCE CARD



ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



By Pat Aufderheide

Danton, the latest film by Polish filmmaker Andrzej Wajda (*Man of Marble*, *Man of Iron*), is getting an undeserved reputation—both good and bad—as a political allegory. When it opened in Paris, right-wing intellectuals claimed the film showed that revolution inexorably leads to dictatorship, while socialist President Francois Mitterrand stalked out silently after the premiere. But like all Wajda's best work, this is a troubled and thoughtful study of the psycho-social milieu of power. It is timely to a political moment, but it is not a coded message about that moment.

Danton focuses on a critical period in the French revolution, when things began to fall apart. Its dramatic center is the growing conflict between two revolutionary leaders—Robespierre and Danton—who had different responses to the crisis. Wajda, with French screenwriter Jean-Claude Carriere (he also wrote *The Return of Martin Guerre*), flings us into that hectic moment, perhaps presuming a far better grasp of French revolutionary history than most viewers have—especially in the U.S.

The background and context of debacle put the Danton-Robespierre conflict on an entirely different footing. They had worked, often together, against aristocrats defending old privilege and also against the growing zealotry and militarism of the *sans-culottes*, or common people. Both had been instrumental in setting up revolutionary institutions of government like the Committee for Public Safety, the ad-hoc governing body for the constituent assembly, or Convention.

Robespierre was widely revered as the soul of integrity—"the only man in French history to merit the description of 'incorruptible,'" according to historian Georges Soboul. Danton was lionized as the champion of individual rights, a populist hero. Both envisioned a revolutionary

process that not only redistributed power, but liberated the best in all people. Robespierre once said he imagined the revolution's success as "the radiant dawn of universal happiness."

Year of living dangerously.

But 1794, when the movie takes place, was the bleak beginning of the Terror—the rule of fear and opportunism that preceded Napoleon's triumph. Harsh circumstances had made a mockery of both Danton's and Robespierre's finest ideals. France was fighting for survival at its borders and quelling counterrevolution in its provinces. The King had been executed after trying to mobilize an aristocratic army (that was *La Nuit de Varennes* [*In These Times*, April 20]) and far leftists had pushed the Committee for Public Safety into making political executions of its own. In Paris food shortages threatened the social order.

Danton and Robespierre, both groping for ways to derail the Terror, first found themselves with different backers, then found themselves in opposition and finally in deadly battle. Robespierre helped to arrange Danton's execution, and shortly thereafter was guillotined himself.

Wajda takes Robespierre and Danton through their dance of death from the moment that Danton refuses to work further with Robespierre. It's largely an intense drama of ensemble acting, taking place in closed meetings, private confrontations and the assembly hall of the Convention.

The opening sequences set the stage. In the sternly simple home of Robespierre (noted Polish actor Wojciech Pszoniak), his housekeeper is drilling her brother on the Declaration of the Rights of Man. She wants him to recite it for the man who she, like so many others, would like to see become Dictator of the Revolution. Robespierre, however, lies in bed, exhausted, sick and depressed.

Meanwhile, a dishevelled Dan-

ton (Gerard Depardieu) rides in a luxury carriage with a beautiful woman through roads blocked by barricades. Eagerly adulatory crowds greet him as he steps onto the streets of Paris, where people line up for bread and are subject to arbitrary arrest. Swiftly the movie's themes—the austerity and tensions of the times; the adulation and zealotry of followers; the exhaustion of leaders—are established.

The final face-off.

Then the face-off begins. Robespierre tries to negotiate what Danton finds unnegotiable. What Robespierre sees as defense

Robespierre prepares for a public appearance as terror takes over in France.

of principle, Danton sees as selling out. When Robespierre throws away hope of compromise with Danton, he also throws away the integrity of the judicial process, rigging Danton's trial.

While Danton is being taken to the guillotine, Robespierre once again is seen at home in bed, ill and raving. "Everything I have worked for has collapsed," he mutters. But others don't see it. His housekeeper proudly brings him a get-well present: her brother reciting the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

FILM

A tale of two revolutionaries

DOCUMENTARY

From Nicaragua's front lines

By Pat Aufderheide

Last spring Pam Yates and Tom Sigel (*Resurgence*; *When the Mountains Tremble*), both veterans of network TV coverage of Central America, traveled for several weeks with Nicaraguan government troops on the Honduran border who were in search of counterrevolutionaries. The filmmakers also visited a *contra* camp and interviewed soldiers and officers there. In a concise 32 minutes, the film debunks some of the Reagan administration's favorite myths—not with rhetoric but with sights and sounds from the frontier. Because the material here is so sensational, the narration and presentation of

this documentary can afford to be understated.

For instance, government troops describe their job as defending the peasants' livelihood from marauding *contras*—and the peasants, welcoming them, agree. The *contra* camp shown is clearly permanent, large and well-stocked with American equipment (the filmmakers checked the lot numbers of cartons of supplies, discovering they had been purchased by the U.S. Department of Defense). Ex-National Guardsmen from the Somoza era in the *contra* camp frankly recall their pasts. One of them says, "There is no shame in admitting we are getting this aid from you. I am happy the U.S. people understand. Because here

Wajda chose to make a movie about a particularly depressing moment in the French Revolution, but he has always been obsessed with the heroism of doomed revolutionary struggle. His early film *Kanal* celebrates the last moments of anti-Nazi partisans trapped in sewers after the Warsaw uprising. One of his most challenging psycho-social portraits is *Without Anaesthesia*, about a journalist with no good options, caught in a pre-revolutionary period of dank corruption. In *Man of Marble*, two lone idealists reject co-optation by the State at the price of their careers. In these films Wajda expresses not political issues, but the conflicts and tensions endured by fierce idealists in the face of political failure or inadequacy.

His concerns resonate with the themes of Polish history, dotted with nobly-lost causes and pervaded with a fervent Catholic nationalism. All political action is infused with spiritual belief. The theme of *Danton* appears particularly appropriate to this moment in Poland—where after the giddy hope brought by Solidarity, political repression has accompanied economic disaster.

Not a revolution story.

There are no lessons to be drawn from *Danton* about current behind-the-scenes politics, or even conclusions about revolutions and their consequences. This movie isn't about revolution; it begins after the French revolution's forward motion has stopped. Further, Wajda is asking not political but humanistic questions, about reactions to political crises. He plunges us into the lives of those gloomily in charge of a situation they cannot control. Watching *Danton* is the next best—or worst—thing to being there.

This is a rare accomplishment. "Political film"—the easy rubric for much of Wajda's work—usually bears the same relationship to film as military music does to music. But Wajda does not divide the world into the personal and the political, or turn one into the other. In fact, the zeal of many critics to codify the film—is Robespierre really Jaruzelski? Is Danton Lech Walesa? Is Robespierre "reason" and Danton "passion"?—betrays the kind of thinking that the film rejects. Personal character is shaped here by social action and also shapes it.

Robespierre's personal asceticism goes with his belief that revolutionary ideals will spawn so-

are their dollars"—as he slaps his rifle. Knitting together the filmmakers' argument that the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionary movement not only violates the interests of most Nicaraguans but even the U.S. government's own interests are several authorities, including Sandinista leader Father Miguel D'Escoto, U.S. Rep. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.), Wayne Smith (chief, U.S. Interests Section for Cuba) and Catholic nun Lisa Fitzgerald. This is a highly professional piece of reporting, and it appears at a timely—even urgent—moment for public debate on the U.S.'s Central American policies.

Order information: *First Run Features*, 144 Bleeker St., New York, NY 10012. (212) 673-6881.

cial responsibility. And Danton's easy popularity goes with his intuitive support for individual self expression. Not that they don't use their personalities politically.

Danton, for instance, stages an elaborate banquet for the puritanical Robespierre, who refuses to touch the magnificent food. Danton's exhibitionistic display is no simple indulgence in gluttony, but a desperate, visceral warning that Robespierre trusts too much in unselfishness. (If it were just gluttony, Danton would never, as he does, throw the food on the floor after Robespierre refuses to taste it.) But Danton gets staggering-drunk as well, a lapse no canny politician would allow himself under the circumstances if he weren't in despair.

Wajda's notoriously flamboyant film style recreates the drama of private passion lived out on a public stage. The "staginess" of this movie has none of the coolness of the Rossellini historical film, or the Expressionist self-consciousness of Hans-Jurgen Syberberg. It uses, even abuses, conventions of costume drama. The moment at which one of Danton's followers turns on him, rallying the Convention with a rousing chorus of the Marseillaise, is a devastating example of the power of cheap theatrics in the political arena.

Wajda plays with all the aspects of film for dramatic effect. Settings evoke dramatically (and with a striking lack of subtlety) the themes of the film. For instance, when Robespierre decides to rig the trial, he is posing for a painting representing him as the personification of revolutionary integrity. Music and sound effects are used pungently and disturbingly. When Committee members consign Danton to death, the camera slowly pans across the faces of self-satisfaction while the soundtrack amplifies the ominous sound of scratching pens.

Whatever else, this is spectacular movie-making—bravado to match the grand despair of these most daring historical gamblers. But if *Danton* has been widely seen as a political allegory instead of a character study, it is understandable. The film's lack of context and background—as well as its tight focus on leaders—make for a wide range of interpretations.

Imbedded in this tale of two citizens are also some sharp political parallels, not least the political nature of Danton's trial. When the film was briefly shown in Poland, audiences reportedly cheered when one of the arrested Dantonists says they cannot win the trial, because political trials are not about justice. Just as provocative is the relationship Wajda draws between both these leaders and their followers. Their idealism turns into idolatry of them and zealotry on behalf of their beliefs. Some of the movie's best cameo roles are of followers—the ardent little-brother loyalist, the cold-blooded opportunist, the spiteful and sly up-and-comer, the careless enthusiast. Idealism here is not necessarily heroic; it can also be the prelude to opportunism and an invitation to cynicism.

Indeed, it is hard to imagine anyone watching *Danton* without finding some echo there of their own political experience—even if it's limited to sitting in meetings of the local co-op. But *Danton* is much more than a political lecture in disguise. It is a tragedy played out on a political stage. ■

»SPORTSCENE

By Marty Jezer

MONTREAL

Perhaps only in ice hockey is it correct to support the Soviet Union. Although Harry Truman once described the Soviets as "bulls in a china shop," their hockey teams, who have dominated international play for most of the past decade, are paragons of skillful grace.

In the February winter Olympics, to be held in Yugoslavia, the Soviets will be out to avenge their defeat by an upstart American team in the 1980 Lake Placid games. That was one of the great upsets in the history of sport. The Soviets fielded a veteran team that had already mastered the National Hockey League's (NHL) professional best while the American team was made up of young, inexperienced amateurs. But lost in the distasteful Cold War jingoism that followed the U.S. victory was acknowledgement by U.S. Coach Herb Brooks that the American Olympians had adopted the Soviet-style of play.

The Soviets play clean, fast, team hockey. The traditional NHL style is to bombard the opposition goalie with shots from all angles and then scramble for rebounds. The Soviets pass the puck back and forth, setting up percentage shots, and positioning themselves for rebounds.

Although the NHL plays a more physical game, the Soviets are the masters of defense. (Even though fighting has been reduced in the NHL, the Soviets are still nonviolent by comparison.) Soviet forwards play defense as hard as they play offense. The NHL has forwards who specialize in defense, but only a few excel both ways. This means the Soviets can exploit the so-called transition game. Their forwards, on defense, will break up a play and convert it to an offensive breakaway before the opposition can get back to defend.

Soviet hockey, now euphemistically known as "European-style," is rapidly making its way into NHL play. And it's the Americans, along with players from Scandinavia and Czechoslovakia, who are prompting the change. The 1980 U.S. Olympic team turned out to be full of future NHL stars. (The Islanders' Ken Morrow, Washington's Dave Christian, the New York Rangers' Marty Pavelich, Buffalo's Mike Ramsey, Hartford's Mark Johnson and Minnesota's Neal Broten are best known.)

U.S. Hockey comes of age. 1980 marked the coming of age of U.S. hockey. Before then,

American players were a rarity in professional hockey. This year, for the first time, an American player was picked first in the NHL draft. Americans were also picked third and fifth; 62 Americans were drafted in all, along with 146 Canadians, 10 Swedes, nine Finns, five Czechs and—looking toward negotiations with Soviet hockey authorities—five Russians.

Number one in the draft, Rhode Island high school forward Brian Lawton, is passing up the Olympics to play for the Minnesota North Stars. But third pick, Pat LaFontaine (a Detroit prep star drafted by the Islanders), will play for the U.S. Olympic team before turning pro. And at least 11 other high draft choices will be playing on the American Olympic team.

The Americans will have a competitive team at the Yugoslavian games. So will the Canadians and the Czechoslovakians, a traditional powerhouse. But the Soviet Union, especially if veteran goalie Vladislav Tretiak is at the top of his form, should take the gold.

NHL predictions.

By the time the Olympics end, the NHL will be getting down to serious play. NHL teams play what in effect are two seasons. The regular 80-game season, from October through March, qualifies 16 of the 21 teams for the Stanley Cup play-offs. The contending teams tend to pace themselves for the play-offs and regular season games are usually wide open, high-scoring affairs. Tough, hustling, hard-nosed defensive play is saved for the second season, when the play-offs begin.

This year the N.Y. Islanders will be shooting for their fifth consecutive Stanley Cup. Only the Montreal Canadians of the late '50s—with Maurice "Rocket" Richard and his little brother Henri ("Pocket Rocket"), Jean Belliveau, Doug Harvey, "Boom Boom" Geoffrion and goalie Jacques Plante—ever won five straight. The Islanders compare favorably with that great team.

As in past seasons, the Long Islanders are likely to loaf through much of the season, having crises of self-doubt as to whether they have the desire to win again. But by play-off time, their motivation will show. The Islanders are the best defensive team in the league. They play a tough, physical brand of NHL hockey, but within a smart, disciplined, team framework. Their big scorers—Mike Bossy, Brian Trottier, Bobby Bourne and John Tonelli—play two-ways, and goalie Billy Smith is at his



Photographer unknown

ICE HOCKEY

Russians are coming ...but their style of play is already here

best at Stanley Cup time.

Once again the high-scoring Edmonton Oilers are likely to face the Islanders in the Stanley Cup final. Last year, the young Oilers were expected to defeat the veteran Islanders. But the New York team's defense was awesome and the Oiler scorers were shut down as the Islanders swept the best of seven series, 4-0.

The Oilers, with Wayne Gretsky, are the highest scoring team in NHL history. The "Great Gretsky" has led the league in goals, assists and total points in the four years he's been in the NHL. His statistics are remarkable. Last year he scored 196 points compared to runner-up Peter Stastny's 124. If one uses baseball stats as an analogy (equating goals with home runs and points with batting average), Gretsky has hit more than 60 home runs and batted more than .400 every season.

But except for Finnish import Jari Kurri, the Oilers don't play defense. It isn't that they can't or won't; under Coach Glen Sather they aren't asked to. The Oilers will dominate the first season when scoring counts, but I predict they will lose again to the Islanders in the Stanley Cup finals.

There are no other NHL teams in the Islander-Oiler class. Buffa-

lo, Chicago, Minnesota, Boston, Quebec and the New York Rangers are the best of the rest. The Montreal Canadians will continue to decline. Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Hartford, New Jersey, Los Angeles and Detroit will fight for the final play-off berths.

The NHL reflects Canadian rather than American attitudes toward the Soviet Union, and the Players Association especially has nurtured ties with Soviet hockey officials. It is possible, after the Olympics, that a few Soviet stars will be permitted to play in the NHL. (Goalie Vladislav Tretiak is slated for Montreal.) And there is talk in hockey circles of reducing the NHL play-offs to the best eight teams and adding a climactic seven-game series between the Stanley Cup winner and the European hockey champs. Although it probably won't take place in an Olympic year such as 1984, a series between the Islanders and the Soviets for the Championship of the World would be a hockey fan's delight. I wouldn't want to predict the winner. Given the brilliance of both teams, it wouldn't matter. ■

*Marty Jezer, a Ranger fan, is author of *The Dark Ages: Life in the United States from 1945-1960*.*

Tannery

Continued from page 13

illegal status. In the company's view, John Surak's request to the INS merely "facilitated the service's performance of its statutory obligations."

The aim of the National Labor Relations Act is not to punish wrongdoers, be they union members or company officials. No one goes to jail for failing to keep the provisions of the NLRA. Instead of punishments, the NLRB doles out remedies. So a company that fires a worker for his pro-union activity is almost always ordered to offer the worker reinstatement in his old job, or in a similar position if the old job no longer exists. The company is also usually ordered to give the worker back pay.

Back pay is not a blanket award, however. If, for instance, the fired worker had immediately found a job at another firm for \$1 less per hour, the guilty company would have to make up only the difference between the two wages.

A remedy in the Sure-Tan case, however, posed a problem. Judge Miller could easily order the Suraks to stop the threats and interrogation, but ordering the Suraks to offer the five Mexicans the traditional remedy—reinstatement and back pay—posed a problem. The Mexicans had been here illegally. Offering them their jobs back would encourage them to violate the immigration law, as legal entry would be virtually impossible: reinstatement offers usually are kept open for only a short period of time—one to three weeks. The wait for Mexicans to get legal visas for residency ranges from days to nine years, depending on the applicants' category. The average wait is 3.38 years, and it is unlikely that the five Mexicans—all unskilled workers—would even have been judged qualified for a visa.

Back pay was also a problem. Precedent demanded that back wages be payable to workers only for the time they were available for employment. For example, if back pay were ordered for a man who robbed a bank and was sent to jail six weeks after being fired, his former employer would have to pay him only six weeks' wages. In the case of Robles, Ruiz, Flores, Arreguin and Serrano, a back pay order would be meaningless: Sure-Tan could easily argue that five workers across the border with no legal means of entry were unavailable for work.

Judge Miller was clearly troubled. "Because the discriminatees were deported as a proximate result of Respondent's letter to the Immigration Service," he wrote, "failure to award any backpay results in the Respondent benefitting from its own unfair labor practice.... [W]hile an employer may have the duty or even an obligation to request an investigation of his employees' alien status in ordinary circumstances, the Respondent did so here *only* when the Union successfully got the support of the employees. Without an award of some back pay, the violations herein will go largely unremedied and the Employer may be encouraged to adopt an apparently foolproof system of defeating union organizational attempts."

Miller was unable to find a precedent that would justify the award. He ruled that the company should "cease and desist" from the threats and coercion, and that the company should offer the five Mexicans reinstatement and hold the offer open for six months. As the workers were required to report with legal status, the reinstatement offer was almost meaningless.

The decision did not satisfy the union or the Suraks, and so the case was continued in higher courts. It bounced twice to a panel of members of the NLRB, and twice to the U.S. court of appeals. The debate grew more heated, as the NLRB ruled that the offer of reinstatement was to be unconditional, that is, without regard to the Mexicans' status as legal or illegal immigrants. The NLRB ruling was against the advice of the board's general counsel. Two of the five board members dissented, arguing that the ruling encouraged the Mexicans to break the law. The majority, however, believed that unless the Sure-Tan five were given a realistic offer of reinstatement—instead of the specious offer requiring legal status—then the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act would not be served.

In February 1982, five years after the immigration raid on the Webster Avenue tannery, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit confronted what Judge Richard Cudahy called "the knotty problem of rectifying the injustice done certain of these aliens, whose labor was graciously accepted and broadly utilized, but whose efforts at labor organization were rebuffed by expulsion from the United States."

Cudahy wrote a colorful and sometimes scathing opinion for the majority. Before the court, Surak's attorneys argued that the brothers did not know that their employees were illegal aliens, that they had written to the INS for clarification of the issue and that they were merely performing their civic duty in so doing. Cudahy noted that the argument "borders on the ludicrous" in light of the fact that Sure-Tan's counsel had twice said the contrary (that the company had known the workers were undocumented) in statements before the NLRB, and that John Surak had done the same in an affidavit written ten days before he penned his letter to the INS.

"Sure-Tan's argument here that any intolerable condition forcing termination was created by the employees' status as illegal aliens is specious," Cudahy wrote. "By putting the INS on notice of these alien employees when it knew of their illegal status, Sure-Tan took action that was the proximate cause of their departure. Indeed, the INS agent who conducted the investigation testified that John Surak's letter 'precipitated' his inspection and investigation. Surak, when he sent this letter, surely foresaw and intended the ultimate result of the INS' investigation. Moreover, we reject Sure-Tan's argument that it was legally obligated to disclose the presence of the alien employees to the INS."

On the issue of remedy, Cudahy and his majority believed that the offers of reinstatement had to be reconciled with the politics underlying the national immigration laws, and so ruled that Sure-Tan's reinstatement offers would have to require the Mexicans to have legal status in this country when they reclaimed their jobs. The judges thought that six months,

however, was an unreasonably short time to hold the offers open, given the time it took to secure a legal visa, and so they ordered that the offers should remain open for four years, that they should be written in Spanish and that they should be sent in a manner allowing verification of receipt.

But a four-year offer is not worth very much to an unskilled worker who in all likelihood would not qualify for a legal visa. Sure-Tan, or indeed any other employer, would still benefit from using INS as co-conspirator. So judges Cudahy, Fairchild and Brown decided that the Suraks should send the Mexicans back pay regardless of whether they were available for work or whether they ever reported legally for reinstatement. The judges decided that the five exiles would have been able to count on a minimum length of time in which they would have avoided apprehension by the INS and in which they would have drawn salaries at Sure-Tan. Admitting that choosing such a period of time was guesswork, the judges came up with six months, and ordered the Suraks to pay their former employees a half-year's worth of wages.

To those sympathetic with the undocumented workers, the determination seemed fair. Even the AFL-CIO, not always a friend to the undocumented Mexican, appreciated the decision, as it seemed the only effective deterrent. Given that the reinstatement offer would probably be ineffectual in every case, if the court of appeals had ordered no back pay, then undocumented workers would become more attractive as employees than American citizens, as an employer could call in the Immigration Service anytime his work force showed a hint of union sympathy without having to worry about the consequences. The rights of citizen workers would be endangered if the rights of undocumented workers were not protected.

An employer who preferred his workers unorganized might be further encouraged to hire undocumented workers by studying the side effects of the INS raid on Webster Avenue. The visit destroyed the Leather Workers' bargaining unit. Technically the union had won the election, and their right to represent the workers—even though the majority of the voters were no longer present—was upheld in the first court of appeals ruling in 1978. But it was only a paper victory. The Suraks still had the upper hand at the bargaining table. John Surak could offer nothing more than the minimum wage, and the Leather Workers would have to take it. They could threaten to strike, but the threat would be empty as there was no guarantee that the new workers would follow a union leadership foisted upon them by court order. Given that it is not illegal to hire an undocumented worker, the Suraks could even hire another crew of undocumented Mexicans, who would be unlikely to follow a call for a strike, given the fate of their predecessors.

And so the Supreme Court is taking up the case this fall. In their writ of certiorari, Sure-Tan's attorneys said once again that the Mexicans' illegal status, not John Surak's letter, caused their discharge from their jobs. Michael P. Flaherty, of Keck, Mahin and Cate, goes on to argue that Sure-Tan's letter to the INS is protected by the First Amendment. "The First Amendment to the Constitution provides..." Flaherty says, "that Congress shall make no law abridging...the right of the people...to petition the government for a redress of grievances." Furthermore, says Flaherty, citing legal precedent, the right to petition is not affected by the motives of the petitioner.

"Nothing could be more essential to the public welfare," Flaherty argues, "than the untrammelled right of citizens to report a violation of the law.... This court's mandate in *Southern Steamship vs. NLRB* (1942), as well as its holding in *Bill Johnson's Restaurants* (1938) requires that the National Labor Relations Act be interpreted in harmony with constitutionally protected rights. This harmonization requires looking over the fence and recognizing that one should not be penalized for reporting a violation

of the law."

The Surak writ also claims that the court of appeals back pay award undermines federal immigration laws treating the illegal aliens "as if they had a right to remain in this country for an additional six months after their detention by the INS. Moreover, the court's remedy would reward the illegal aliens with six months' back pay for their violation of the immigration laws. ...Harmonization of the Board's remedial order with federal immigration laws requires the elimination of the back pay award."

Flaherty goes on to say the six months' back pay is a punishment, not a remedy, and that the order to hold the reinstatement offer open for four years places an unreasonable burden on Sure-Tan. The NLRB and the courts have repeatedly upheld reinstatement offers that remained open for less than 30 days, and so Flaherty argues that offering a longer period to illegal aliens amounts to preferential treatment. "It would not serve the purposes of the NLRA to afford preferential treatment to those who violate federal immigration laws," Flaherty argues for the Suraks, "particularly where it would likely result in the displacement of American workers."

Lastly, the Suraks plead that the requirement that the reinstatement letter be written in Spanish and sent in a manner allowing verification of receipt is an unwarranted departure from established board precedent. "Certainly an employer is entitled to communicate with its employees in English, the official language of this country. Courts have recognized that the government is not required to conduct its affairs and proceedings in languages other than English.... It is unfair to require Sure-Tan to communicate with its employees in Spanish, when federal and state governments are not required to do so."

For the opposition, arguing the case of the workers, is the NLRB. In its writ of certiorari, the board argued that the Suraks' claim that the INS, not the company, had removed the workers was without merit. The Suraks, the board argued, "were aware of the employees' illegal immigration status, profited from their labor and waited until the employees secured union representation to request an INS investigation"; it was clear, the board said, that the immigration laws were just a convenient tool for the Suraks. On the First Amendment question, the NLRB argues in its brief to the court

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that the Suraks' attorneys were procedurally out of line, that the question should have been raised first to the NLRB and then to the appeals court before it was raised to the Supreme Court. In their brief the NLRB goes on to argue that the right to petition the government for redress of grievances was meant to guarantee the redress of wrongs committed against the petitioner. In this case, the Board says, the petition was made not because the petitioners (the Suraks) had been wronged; rather, it was made solely for "a retaliatory or invidious purpose." The NLRB argument is similar to the contention that the right to freedom of speech does not mean that anyone is free to yell "Fire!" in a crowded theater.

The board also claims that the court of appeals decision to award six months' back pay was not, as Sure-Tan's attorneys argue, based on any premise that they would have remained undetected for six months. (A study done for the Department of Labor in 1976 concluded that only one of every three illegal aliens

who enter the U.S. is ever detected.)

The board argues that the Sure-Tan employees were injured by their premature removal, and so the back pay award serves the legitimate purpose of compensating the injured employees and vindicating their rights under the National Labor Relations Act; the fact that the award might also have the incidental effect of deterring future violations does not make the backpay order illegitimate.

Lastly, the NLRB argues that the four-year reinstatement offer, written in Spanish, delivered by some form of registered mail, is not improper, that these unusual features of the remedy simply reflect the particular facts of the case: the aliens speak Spanish; the mail to Mexico may be unreliable; and legal entry to the U.S. may require years of effort.

So the Suraks argue that to protect the undocumented worker violates the spirit of the immigration laws, while labor advocates believe that failing to protect the undocumented worker will result in wholesale violation of the immigration

laws. If the Supreme Court buys Sure-Tan's First Amendment argument, or if it eliminates the back pay order, undocumented Mexicans will be made far more attractive as employees than their American fellow workers. Employers who wish to use the INS to rid themselves of unwanted workers will be given license to do so; no longer will they have to hide behind anonymous phone calls. Unions will shy away from plants employing Hispanics in large number, documented or undocumented, and the workers at those factories, legal and illegal, Hispanics,

blacks and whites, who think they need a union, will have a hard time finding one.

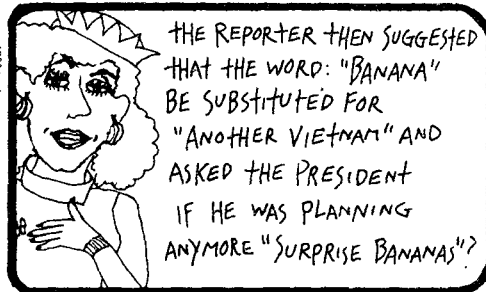
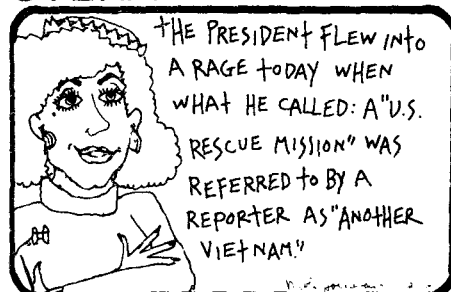
The Supreme Court's decision may be more important to U.S. workers than to the Sure-Tan five and the Suraks.

The Supreme Court will announce its decision in 1984, probably between April and July. It seems a very long way from the hides and the smell of the tannery, the Greyhound to El Paso and the day the workers were carried off by their brothers in labor almost 7 years ago.

A version of this story first appeared in the Chicago Reader.

By Nicole Hollander

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Bye Marcos

That's the chorus in many Manila barrooms since the airport assassination of Benigno Aquino.

By A. Lin Neumann

MANILA

AT ABOUT 11 P.M. ON A RECENT Friday evening, the patrons of Vintage—a bar in the Makati business district that specializes in beer and recorded British and American pop music from the '50s and '60s—were deep into their brew and their memories. At least that is how it seemed.

Then several young men in the second floor of the packed tavern began stringing yellow toilet paper from the rafters as others started tearing up bits of paper and scattering confetti around the bar.

A Filipino companion responded to my puzzled look by explaining, "Oh, everyone comes here on Fridays after the demonstrations, by now it's a ritual. You just watch."

Sure enough. Dozens of young middle-class Filipinos flocked into Vintage, seemingly on cue, as a taped message from slain opposition leader Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino was piped in on the big Bose 901 speakers. They were dressed in yellow and black, the colors of the "Aquinoys," as they are now called. Many sported the commercialized mementos of martyrdom—buttons reading "I Love Ninoy" and "Hindi Ka Nag Iisa" (You are not alone). Soon, everyone was singing "Tie a Yellow Ribbon," the song of Aquino's homecoming, and chanting "Ninoy! Ninoy!" Waiters pushed beer around the barroom, decorated with images of Ninoy interspersed with American pop icons left from the days when Vintage was a mere bar, not a political headquarters. James Dean, Elvis, Ninoy, the Beatles, early Stones, Ninoy again....

Libation in the liberated zone.

It's an odd revolution going on in the Philippines. People have taken to referring to Makati as a "liberated zone," and earlier in the day thousands of "Professionals for Justice" staged another of the regular Friday afternoon rallies against the government of President Ferdinand Marcos. A patron in the bar explained, "You see, most of these people were student activists in the '60s. They still remember. That is why they are demonstrating."

Well, perhaps. Certainly, the outburst of middle-class opposition to the Marcos regime kicked off by the brutal assassination of Aquino last August has badly wounded the government and further destroyed its credibility in the eyes of its foreign creditors. President Marcos last week called the business community "spiteful and petty" for resorting to rallies as a means of expressing their displeasure.

This displeasure—and outright ridiculing of the government—seen at the Vintage was mixed with American symbols: fancy cars in the parking lot and well-tailored clothes. As the bar's sound system blared "Bye Bye Blackbird," the "blackbird was omitted in favor of a shouted "Bye Bye Marcos." "Abraham, Martin and John" was cued up along with "Impossible Dream" and the "Theme from Exodus." Finally, while a

particularly enthused drunk on the staircase shouted, "This must be heaven!" the new nationalist anthem of the country, "Ang Bayan Ko" (My Country)—a haunting ballad composed as a protest against American occupation of the country in the 1900s—was sung. The crowd fell quiet and the revelry stopped for a few minutes as patrons raised their fists in the air.

Then a version of "Mathilde," by Harry Belafonte, was played. The name-sake of the title was replaced with "Imelda," in reference to the First Lady, and a string of epithets was attached to the chorus following her name.

With the Monkees' hit, "I Want to Be Free," playing, I elbowed my way over to the disc jockey, who explained that this was a special Ninoy tape he had made for such occasions. It had become a regular Friday feature over the last couple of months.

A gentleman at the bar bought a round of drinks when he discerned that a couple of foreign reporters were present, asking that we just "print the truth" about Marcos and Ninoy. I asked what comes after Ninoy, who is, after all, dead. He drew a blank and said, "I don't know. That is really our problem."

The Vintage is not the sum total of protest politics in Manila, of course. But it is a pretty accurate measure of sentiment among the newly awakened young professional class. It's fun. It's tinged with bits of sentimental Western culture. It's also, in a way, deeply nationalistic and angry.

The ritual began all over again at about one in the morning when Noynoy Aquino—the martyr's 24-year-old son—arrived to a warm reception from friends, classmates and supporters. It was still going strong when we found the door after two, the strains of "Revolution" by the Beatles shaking the beams as people in yellow T-shirts danced on the tables and shouted for beers.

I asked a young woman what this was all about as we passed on the stairs. She drew a puzzled look and said, "Oh. Well, this happens every Friday in all the pro-Aquino bars."

A. Lin Neumann reports regularly on Philippine issues for *In These Times* and other publications.